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* **OUR 50th ISSUE** *

A JOURNAL FOR NATIVE AND NATURAL PEOPLES

HOW IT IS WITH US



GUATEMALA

The AKWESASNE NOTES/White Roots of Peace caravan to aid earthquake-stricken native people of Guatemala will depart the last week of June.

But there is still time for people to help — and more help will be needed even after the caravan has returned from this first trip.

The last issue of AKWESASNE NOTES had a lengthy description of the terrible damage — the pueblo of Poaquil, where the caravan will concentrate its efforts, has 10,000 people of which 6600 were injured. Every home in the pueblo was destroyed. And land shortages combined with a tight economy had made things tough enough even before the earthquake happened.

Although the project was designed to be a massive response of native peoples to aid their relatives in

Central America, the actual response has been a mere trickle — even an embarrassing trickle.

Letters were sent to commercial seed companies requesting donations of seed or nursery stock; pharmaceutical companies were asked for medicines; schools of agriculture were asked to contribute experts, stock, and materials. Out of several hundred personally written letters, there were four replies — resulting in a grand total of 100 pounds of seed potatoes and \$12.37 worth of seed.

While native people have come to expect that sort of thing from the commercial establishment, the native response hasn't been so hot, either. Letters to tribal farming operations and native organizations have also gone unanswered. In fact, if the response to this project is any indication, there is going to have to be a lot of educational work done if the native people who were colonized by the Spanish instead of the English are going to be accepted as brothers and sisters and if we are to respond to their urgent needs.

The Caravan Will Leave Soon

Things are not all bad, however. There has been some response, and this is the way the project looks from here:

A native group of ten persons, travellers with White Roots of Peace, basically, are going to Guatemala to handle the project's administration, liaison, security, finances, coordination, translation and general labor.

A medical contingent will work in cooperation with a local clinic to train paramedical workers, provide therapy for those injured, nutrition education, and general health care. A New York area pediatrician has agreed to spend two weeks with the project. A Chicano dental technician, a physical therapist, a licensed practical nurse, a public health nutritional specialist, and a registered nurse have also agreed to participate. Still needed, however, are additional professional workers, including a laboratory technician and nurses.

The caravan will also include a group of carpenters and masons. More native and Chicano carpenters are badly needed for this workforce. Although it is the rainy season, many people are still without even basic shelter.

A few people skilled in agricultural techniques have also volunteered. Still needed, however, are persons skilled in bee-keeping, poultry, organic gardening, soil analysis. And a forester is needed — the earthquake caused such a demand for wood that the hillsides are

being deforested, which is certain to cause future shortages of firewood, as well as causing environmental damage.

Besides personnel, the project needs money — money which will go 100% for the purchase of basic foods and supplies for the native people of the pueblo. One foundation has contributed \$3500. A check for \$250 came from the people of *Mother Earth News*. A number of other thoughtful persons contributed money as well.

The project also needs supplies and tools. Ben Thompson sent 5 new saws and hammers. Clothing came from other contributors. Still needed is polyfilm for temporary shelter, canvas, bedding, tents, cooking gear, hand farm tools and carpentry tools. Who can raise a truckload of corn? And where can we get bees? And fertile eggs?

All of this is needed as soon as possible, and donors should write or phone immediately.

The situation there isn't easy, and the caravan is certain to be no picnic. It takes hard travel to get there, since the money for air fare is being used instead to transport a larger group by road. Six native men from North Dakota who responded to a request and offer for carpenters issued by the Canadian Embassy didn't last too long — three only went as far as Houston, Texas, before they decided to return home. The other three lasted in Guatemala less than a week — "they couldn't adjust," leaders of the pueblo said.



The whole project will be documented by media group of a writer, artist, poet, photographer, and editor — who will have other responsibilities as well, and hopefully a book will result to commemorate the participants in the project and the native people of Guatemala.

We hope that history will not record that the native people and others in North America have been in different when their help was needed in 1976.

For further information, contact:

Guatemala Project
AKWESASNE NOTES
Mohawk Nation
via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683



AKWESASNE NOTES
WHERE THE PARTISAN DRUMS

AKWESASNE NOTES is the official publication of the Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne (People of the Longhouse) and contains (from time to time) Longhouse News, the official publication of the Mohawk Nation at Kanawake.

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telephone (518) 358-4697

DO YOU HAVE A RED LABEL?

Look at your address label on this paper. If it is marked in red, this is the last issue you will receive unless we hear from you. We hope you will understand — this is the only way we have of cleaning up the mailing list every so often, since there are no paid subscriptions to expire.

This month it is New York State, Pennsylvania and Delaware that gets labelled in the U.S., plus Alberta and Saskatchewan, Canada, plus Germany and readers in Asia and South America.

ALL YOU HAVE TO DO IS WRITE TO US and your name will be reinstated. This is not an appeal for money, although it might be a good time to renew your support.

THINKING ABOUT MOVING? JUST MOVED?

Let us know right away so we can change your address. Going home for the summer? Let us know. If you're not at the address on our list, either the paper will be forwarded at a high cost to you, or it will be destroyed and NOTES will receive a notice for which we have to pay 10 cents. Since 5% or so of our readers do move between issues, that would mean more than \$300 cost to us, plus the loss of 3,000 newspapers. So, please write BEFORE you move!

Help Wanted



A task force of people to help with planting began May 15, but cold, wet weather — even snow — caused them to wait until the end of the month. Planting continued well into early June.

Because of the Guatemala Project, AKWESASNE NOTES will be virtually shut down from mid-June until mid-August, and it will be difficult to accommodate visitors during that time. Orders will continue to be filled, mail will be processed, however.

In mid-August, however, work camps will form to help in various projects. Volunteers are sought to begin on August 15 to help with berry-picking, harvesting, gathering of herbs, food drying.

On August 22, another work camp of volunteers will begin a construction project which will include log-cutting. Persons familiar with log construction are especially needed for this first phase.

On August 29, six more volunteers will form a crew to continue the harvest of potatoes and corn and for exterior house-painting.

Volunteers will also be needed for autumn for wood-cutting and winterizing of buildings.

These are good opportunities to see what NOTES is all about, and to help in a significant way at the same time. There are no expenses once you're here if you're willing to share what we have. The work camp crews work together as a unit.

Regular Staff Needed Too

We also need additions to our regular staff: a book-keeper, someone to file our mailing list and

SUBSCRIPTION INFORMATION ON PAGE

NEEDED FOR NOTES:

- blankets
- sleeping bags
- alladin or kerosene lamps
- cast iron pots & pans
- zoom lens for Canon FT
- crocks
- file cabinets
- linoleum
- house paint & brushes
- tree-trimming saws
- wood-cutting gear
- binoculars
- flashlights
- warm socks
- an ordinary compass
- old rugs and canvas
- canning jars & gear

manage circulation, persons to write and type, do layout and art-work, to ship books and materials, to do maintenance.

A person is also needed to plan and install a wind-generated electrical system in a wilderness NOTES camp.

In considering applications from volunteers, first opportunities are given to people from Akwesasne, then other native people, and then all others.

Please — if you can help, write us and let us know.

Regarding Visitors

Because space is needed to accommodate regular staff and volunteers for the work-crews, it is difficult to accommodate casual visitors for long periods of time. While we will do what we can to extend hospitality, visitors should expect to relate to one of the work-crews, or to limit their visit to a night or two.

All visits should be arranged in advance.

For further information about helping with a NOTES two-week work-camp or filling a NOTES staff position, please contact:

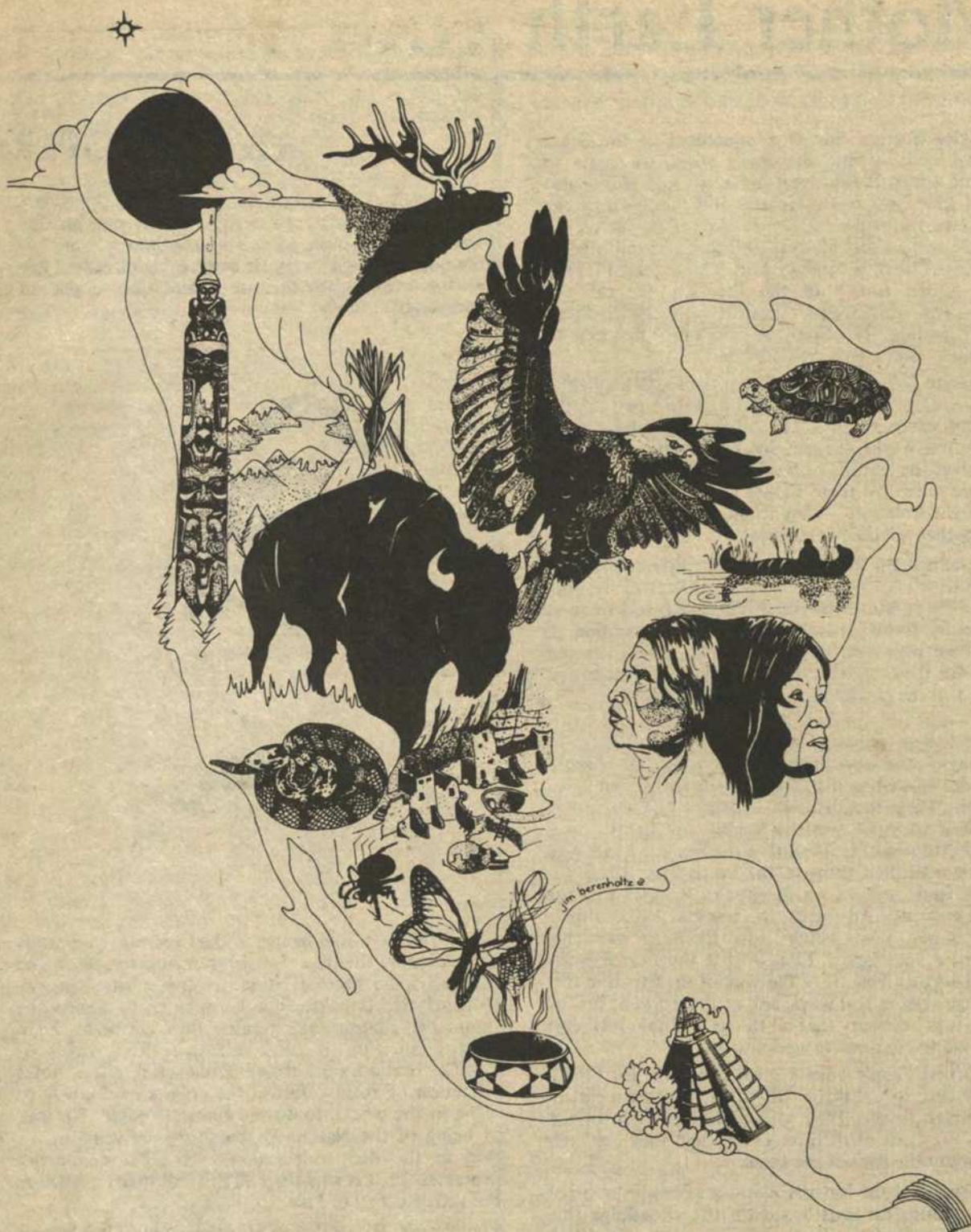
Susie Boots
AKWESASNE NOTES
Mohawk Nation
via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683
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If you yourself cannot help, please call this notice to the attention of others, post on a bulletin board, or recopy in a newsletter.

THIS PAPER COMES OUT WITH LOVE AND ENERGY OF MANY, INCLUDING:

Connie, Doug, Rarihokwats, Kaherahare, Dorothy Thomas, Snowbird, Dorothy Ann, Kanawieionton, Rokwaho, Susie Boots, Aroniawenrate, Sara, Kahonhes, Francis Estrella, Katsitsiakwa, Ateronhiatakon, Raosennawane, Elmer, Kahratohen and Ma Boots, Kanaratkanoron, plus visitors and helpers such as Hal Malmud, Boston Steve, Dorothy Chief Stick, Sotakkowane, Kaientares, Kevin Cree, Tom Cree, Soterakwen, Gina, Francis, Barbara Smith, Rudolfo and many many more.

The next issue of AKWESASNE NOTES will be published after the Guatemala trip returns in August. Material for publication should be here by August 15, if possible, and no later than August 31. Another issue will be published in October, funds permitting.



... news of the peoples of this hemisphere



thanks to jim berenholtz, the keeper of the woods, for graphics

all children of Mother Earth

[AKWESASNE NOTES has never stated its political position. In this 50th issue, this essay by Sotsisowah, a Seneca associated with NOTES, outlines the philosophy that seems to guide us as we work. As we see it, spirituality is the highest form of politics. The Editors.]

All things that are, are of the Creation.

The Creation is the earth and the sky, the grasses and the trees, the birds and the animals. All things of the Creation carry on in their own way, and the way of the beings of the Creation is the way of the Creation itself.

The Earth carries on in the Earth-way in the Creation. When the Sun rises in the eastern sky, he brings light and warmth to the body of the Earth. And when this happens, the Earth breathes, as a living being breathes, giving forth a breath of life to the other living things on the Earth. The Earth is a living being, and from her body come many other living beings. That is her way in the Creation — the way of the Earth Spirit.

It is because the Earth Spirit carries on in this way that Life as we know it exists here. The Earth is Mother to the Life that exists on the Earth. In the Natural Way, the Creation's Way, to all the life on the Earth she is Mother Earth. Mother Earth carries on in the way of the Creation, and therefore there is Life.

The Mother Earth is a Spirit. She is an energy force which shows itself to us in matter and we call this matter Earth.

That is the way of the Creation — many energy forces in this Creation manifest themselves to the People in matter and are therefore real. This is the way of the Spirit, for they are often manifested in matter. Thus are the spirits often real. In this way, the Mother Earth is real, for she is a real being, and because she is a real being, she is also Mother to real beings. Because she is a spiritual being, she is also Mother to spiritual beings.

Thus are the grasses and the trees which exist upon the Mother Earth both real and spiritual beings. They exist, and they exist in a way which follows the ways of the Creation. They also make life as we know it, in this place. If the grasses ceased to follow the way of the Creation, if they ceased to grow and to provide food for the other things of this place, Life, as we know it, may cease.

The grasses, too, are real beings. They carry on in certain ways, grass ways, and their ways are life-supportive. Each blade of grass is real, and each is a manifestation of the Grass Spirit, the energy force which exists upon the earth, and which is shown to us through the existence of that species of grass. Thus there is upon the earth real grass, and an energy force manifested to the Creation which we call the Grass Spirit. It is an energy force which has great power, for within the grasses there is a power to heal and a power to bring beauty. The grasses hold the Earth together, and they are beings to which the animal life is tied. It is their way of being that they are spiritual participants in the process that is Life in the Creation.

Thus Life as we know it depends upon the Spirit of the Grasses, that their spirits be kept strong and powerful and that they be able to maintain balance on the Earth.

And as we look about us on the Earth, we see that there are many, many other spirits, and that they too are participants upon the Earth. We can see that there are trees, and that they are manifestations of the Tree Spirits that exist on this place. The oak tree is a manifestation of the Oak Tree Spirit. That power alone can come to be an oak tree. And as we look about us, we can see that the Oak Tree is not a spirit unto itself, for the Oak requires the Mother Earth upon which to plant its feet. But the Oak Tree is a powerful Spirit, and as with all things in the Creation, it so operates with the other spirits to create Life on this planet, including its own life. The Oak Tree has a way of being in the Creation — it is a part of the Creation. It too participates in the process that creates and sustains life in this place. And those ways are manifested to the rest of the Creation in real ways, for the individual oak is real. Its body is real and its leaves are real and its way of being in the Creation is real. This is the way of Nature — that its beings are real beings and that the ways of those beings are real ways.

The Spirit of the Oak has a power to participate in the Life-producing processes of the Universe. We can only say that the source of that power is a Great Mystery, and that the power is manifest through the Spirits of this Universe. That is why we say that the Sun is a spiritual being, that it is real, and that it manifests the Power of the Universe. We know of that Power because we are able to observe the many ways in which it is revealed to us through the Spirits of the Universe. In this way, the Sun is also a messenger whom we sometimes call Father, and sometimes we call Elder Brother.

The Elder Brother Sun is a messenger of the Great Mystery, and through the Sun's ways, we come to know of a way of the Great Mystery. And this is also true of the Spirit of the Grasses and the Spirit of the Oak Tree. We speak of the source of Power of the Universe as the Great Mystery. All that is manifested to us by that Power is named by us "the Creation". That which is the source of the Creation, we call the Creator, and when we say Creator, we mean the Spirit of the Creation. The Spirit of Creation is manifest to all things in that which created Life.

The Human Beings who walk upon the Earth are beings of the Creation. They are spirits also, a part of the processes which support Life. If we look about us at the Natural World, we can see that many people call themselves the Natural or Real People. The People who call themselves by these names know that they are a part of the Creation — they know that they are real in the way that the Oak Tree is real.

In the same way, there is seen to be a Spirit of Human Beings which is recognized by the Real or Natural People. The Spirit of the Natural People is said to be of the Mother Earth, and the Real People know that all the People who walk upon the earth are brothers and sisters, for they share the same Spirit of the species and they are all the children of the Mother Earth.

All the beings upon the Earth follow the Natural or Real ways — the ways of the Creation. And all of those beings are related in that they belong to the family of Creation. They support one another. The Oak Tree gives of its oxygen that the Rabbit may breathe, and the Rabbit gives of its flesh that the Fox may live. And the Fox in death returns to the Earth from which the Greases feed, and the Grass gives of its flesh that the Rabbit may live. All things, in their real ways, support life. It is only when beings leave their real ways that they cease to support Life — that they break away from the Life Cycle. It is the way of the Creation that all things exist in real ways, and in the world of human beings, it is necessary that all things maintain real ways for all life to continue as we know it.

The Natural People have a great reverence for Life, a great respect for all living things, for they are a part of those living things. They know that the flesh of the grass is the flesh of their ancestors, and they see their own lives in the lives of the trees.

This respect for the Natural World is a manifestation of great wisdom, for it is based on the knowledge that from the flesh of the Earth will come their own flesh and that of their future generations. And they know that they must be respectful of the living things on the earth, for they (as the Oak Tree) all represent a power to sustain Life. And if that power is destroyed (as when the Oak Tree is destroyed) the processes of life on this planet must be weakened, and if the spirits of enough things that produce Life are destroyed, all Life as we know it must cease.



And the Natural People know also that they are both observers of the Creation and actors in the Creation.

Throughout the Natural World, the beings are responsible actors. They do not strive to respect the Natural World only in their minds and hearts (although they do this) but rather they try to make their lives a celebration of life.

Thus do the Natural People see beauty in the things and processes that support and produce life. They call their ceremonies of the seasons "celebrations" and they ritualize their version of the Real World by showing greetings and thanksgiving to the things of the

an editorial

world. Truly the Creation has provided all things real humans should want or need. Does it not provide flowers and songbirds to delight the human spirit? Is there not food and sweet air and beautiful water? Are not the rivers and the trees and the eagles of incomparable beauty?



Are not these things beings of the Creation, supporters of Life? And do they not lift the human spirit? The people of the Natural World are the spiritual proprietors of the Universe, not because they possess the things of Creation, but because they celebrate them. That celebration is an active one. The rituals of Life-Celebration are not the actual celebration, but a reflection of reality. Just as the grasses have a way of being in the world, so do the Natural People. The way of being of the Natural People is the active participation in the daily celebration of the Life-supportive processes. That is why they do not call theirs a religion, but rather a Way of Life.

The Natural People know that the Human Beings who walk upon the Earth are also spiritual beings, and that each individual is a manifestation of the Human Being Spirit. And they attempt to enact with that spirit, as they do with other spirits, in a Life-supportive way. The Natural People know that to respect other human beings means to participate in the Life process with them. Thus to them, love is not distinct or separate from respect, and respect means participation. To the Natural People, respect means love and participation in the process of Life. And the processes of Life are not limited to human life — rather they extend to all Life, to all the living things on the Earth. It would be contrary to the ways of the Natural People to participate in ways which deny people an access to the celebration of all life, or which are destructive to another life species.

The Real People of the Earth are those who seek to strengthen the Human Spirit through participation in all processes of Life and who seek that participation for their children and for generations to come. That is why they will seek to participate in the lives of their children and their elders, as well as to experience and participate in the process of the Universe which creates the Birds and the Grasses. They are the people of wisdom and vision, of love and truth, of beauty and happiness, for theirs is the way of the Creation. They are the true sons and daughters of the Earth and the Power that they call the Great Mystery. The Real People, the *Naturales*, the Natural People, are the true manifestation of the Spirit of the Human Species. They are the manifestations of the real spirit of the Human Species, brothers and sisters of all the living things of the Earth because they follow and participate in the real ways of the Creation.

And we, who would be Real People, are those who must now struggle to regain those real ways, not in words or ceremonies, but in reality, for the Real Ways are not ways of words, or even of rituals. Thus are we brothers and sisters, Natural People who seek to participate in the ways of the Creation. We are now the People who seek to know the wisdom and power of the Creation through our actions in participation in the Natural World.

It is said among Natural Peoples that the real beings of this place are not permanent on the Earth.

And it is said that, just as the spirits of this place prepared the Earth, so that it could sustain Life, and just as the beings of this place are now sustainers of

Life, so must those who are living in this place conduct themselves in a way that will support Life for the future generations. As we look about us, we see that things of this place have a balance. When that balance is broken, when a being fails for some reason to carry on in the Natural Way, it is said that things within the Creation begin to change. Of all the beings of this Universe, Humans have the ability to choose or to fail to choose to participate in the Life-Supportive Ways. Thus is it possible for humans to fail to have a reverence for Life, for them to turn their eyes and their hearts away from the Life Supporters, the spiritual beings of this place, and to cease to be a spiritual people.

Everything in the world needs to know that it is appreciated. It is true that plant beings are nourished by soil and air, but it is known too that their health and well being is encouraged by our words. Thus do the Natural People speak to the plants, encouraging them to carry on in their plant ways, and for this reason, our grandparents walked among the Corn Sisters and talked to them, encouraging them to grow. It is a way that our spirits encourage the spirits of other beings of this World. Everything in the world is encouraged in this way.

The Natural World People say that this is the first duty of the People, that they show an appreciation and a high regard for one another. We can see that it is the natural way, just as the first thing people do upon meeting is to greet one another with a wish of good health. This is the way of a Natural People, in the greeting of other human beings, and it is their way to extend these greetings to the other beings of this world also.

The Real People come together to express an appreciation for the beings of the Universe, such as the feathered beings and the grass beings, and in this way they are participating in one aspect of the Life-Supportive process. And it is said that there are those who do not participate in this process, who do not have an appreciation of the other spirit beings of the world, who are not Natural People.

The Natural People are those who participate in the natural processes and the natural processes are nurturant ones. It is the way of a Natural People to nurture the Life-Supportive Processes of the World through the process of appreciation and greetings and thanksgiving.



It is true that the individual human beings who walk upon the Earth are not permanent here, but it is also true that in the Life-Supportive Process of the Natural Way, men and women can come together to produce new Life. We say, when this happens, that they are a family, and that it is the duty of the Natural People to nurture the young that they may survive. And it is said that it is the duty of the People to provide for their survival, that the People can remain in balance.

It is the duty of each People to care for and take care of one another, and to seek to resolve conflicts among the people that the process of Life will not be interrupted. And it is the way of Natural People to help one another to obtain the things people need to survive, and in that way to participate in the Ways of the Creation. And it is their duty also to teach the people of the Natural Ways, that all will be aware of their duties to participate in the Life-Supportive Processes and to encourage all the people to continue in that way. And it is the Natural Way too that an appreciation and a good feeling be shown to the people, that the Life-Supportive Ways can continue.

And that has been the way of Human Beings for most of the time they have existed upon the Earth. The Creation nurtured the People, provided them with food and clothing, with beautiful things and good medicines, and the People took part in the processes of the Natural World. They gave a greeting and a thanksgiving to the things that produced their lives, and they gave a greetings to one another for the same reasons.

And the people who lived in this way celebrated Life because they were happy. And the people who live in this way celebrate Life because they are happy.

— Sotsisowah

AKWESASNE NOTES TARGET OF COINTELPRO-TYPE DISRUPTIVE TACTICS: CALIFORNIA MURDER TRIAL CONTINUES

In the last month or two, AKWESASNE NOTES has been subject to two known instances of tactics which bear the earmarks of the FBI's COINTEL program or the CIA's Operation Chaos which are designed to cause disruption, destruction, and even violence of groups which those two agencies consider dangerous in some way.

The first situation concerns an anonymous letter which was sent to the *Nishnawbe News*, published by native students at Northern Michigan University through university facilities, and circulated widely in the Great Lakes area. The author of the letter claimed to be a member of NOTES staff, and yet said the source of the information was "news which has been circulating about the St. Regis Mohawk Indian Reservation for sometime and we feel that it should be brought to your attention."

The writer pretends to be in great danger as a result of the letter, saying that if their property is burned to the ground, or if they come to harm, it will be a result of their brave deed in notifying the world about the evils of AKWESASNE NOTES. The way at NOTES, the letter says, is "if you don't live in peace according to our standards, if we have any, we will attack you and harm you in any way that we can."

The main purpose of AKWESASNE NOTES, the writer says, is to accumulate a million dollars so that its staff can split for Russia "since we have Communistic beliefs". The letter accuses NOTES people of "supply your young people with Dope (LSD, etc.) its much easier to control them, insite [sic] them to riot and keep up the turmoil on the Mohawk Reservation until we have reached our goal of one million dollars cash."

One of the earmarks of other FBI-type disruption letters is intentionally misspelled words — "insite" instead of incite, for instance. The letter spells the word "hypocrisy" three different ways. On the other hand, it correctly spells "anonymous", "deceit", "dissemination". None of which proves anything — but it's a point of interest.

Noting that the newsstand price of NOTES is 50 cents and that 74,000 copies are circulated, the writer calculates NOTES has money coming in at the rate of \$296,000 per year, and that in four years, the NOTES will finally have enough to make it to Russia. "We don't believe our own preaching," the "insider" of NOTES writes. "So we will have to get into our new vans and drive to the nearest welfare office to collect our checks so we can buy more dope and sit around thinking of different things to steal from our fellow-man." [No NOTES staff draw welfare or even get food stamps — and the most modern vehicle owned by NOTES is a 1972 model.]

While it isn't surprising that a newspaper would receive such a letter, what is incredible is that *Nishnawbe News* would publish it without offering the opportunity of reply by NOTES, especially in this era where every day brings out new revelations of new illegal disruption tactics by federal agencies. Perhaps it is just naivete on the part of their staff, which has said to their readers who have complained of the letter that "native people have as much right to express their opinions as anyone else."

Stirring Up An Assassination

The last issue of AKWESASNE NOTES contained a speculative article concerning the "AIM Camp 13 Murder" for which Paul Durant and Richard Mohawk are on trial in Ventura, California. Because of the involvement of Douglas Durham, an admitted FBI undercover informer/provocateur who infiltrated the American Indian Movement high enough to become "National Security Director", in the camp and in the trials themselves, there is a strong suspicion that the defendants were set up in order to give AIM a bad name in California and elsewhere.

One of the main investigators for that article was Paula Giese, a former worker supporting the national AIM office in Minneapolis.

After the article appeared, AKWESASNE NOTES received an "insigned" letter from Houston, Texas. The letter is a carefully constructed professional effort to get Paula Giese assassinated by getting some unsuspecting patriotic native person to do the deed and take the rap.

The author of the letter claimed to be a disenchanted FBI agent who had left his position. He claimed to have all sorts of inside knowledge. To establish his credibility, he wrote a detailed description of the interior of the AIM office, including the location of the peanut butter.

Then, he promised he would give AKWESASNE NOTES a detailed complete list of all the informers, spys, and provocateurs the FBI had working in the American Indian Movement. To get this, all NOTES had to do was to publish his letter.

The writer then came out with the accusation that Paula Giese was an FBI agent, getting paid thousands of dollars a month. The totally untrue and impossible fable continued to say that Giese had been responsible

for the capture of Dennis Banks, the shooting of Russell Means, and other dirty deeds, and that it was a shame that such brave Indian heroes had to suffer — Paula Giese should die, the writer said.

All of this was, of course, a clear attempt to cause division and disruption within the Indian movement, to eliminate a useful ally and investigator, and at the same time to get AKWESASNE NOTES involved, and possibly eliminating a loyal native activist.

That letter, with others of a similar nature, have been forwarded to U.S. Senate investigators for action.

And so, to the federal agent(s) who are anxiously reading this issue of AKWESASNE NOTES to see if his letter is published, we have only this message: if you really want to give us a list of informers within the Indian movement, sure we're interested. But your only reward will come from your own conscience — no deals from us.

In the meantime, we can look forward to more disruptive tactics like these which cause native people to fight with each other and to have mistrust. We need to learn to recognize such tactics when we see them, without developing so much mistrust that our paranoia causes more disunity than any agent possibly could.

To see how a COINTEL program operates, we have the example of *The Black Panther*, which recently has been able to get 40 internal FBI documents detailing disruption against the newspaper.

The Black Panther newspaper is one of the most effective propaganda operations of the Black Panther Party," J. Edgar Hoover, late director of the FBI wrote to agents all over the country. "Distribution of this newspaper is increasing at a regular rate, thereby influencing a greater number of individuals in the United States along the Black extremist lines."

Then, Hoover ordered disruptive actions: "Each recipient submit by 6/5/70 proposed counterintelligence measures which will hinder the vicious propaganda being spread by the BPP."

The documents were obtained when a U.S. District Court ordered the FBI to produce documents relating to the December 4, 1969, assassination of Illinois state Black Panther Party leader, Fred Hampton and Mark Clark by Chicago police, in which an FBI informer played a key role — he had been able to work his way into the position of Hampton's bodyguard.

The Chicago FBI office also sent out derogatory cartoons suggesting that the Black Panthers were being controlled by white radicals — an accusation also contained in the letter sent to the *Nishnawbe News*.

Meanwhile, in Ventura, California, the trial of Paul Skyhorse Durant and Richard Mohawk for the grisly murder of a cab driver at a camp known as "AIM Camp 13" continued with pre-trial motions.

The two men have maintained their innocence since their arrest. With the help of two local attorneys, they are conducting their own defense, astutely questioning witnesses. Skyhorse was able to draw from the top detective on the case the admission that only evidence favorable to the prosecution was being introduced. "I don't want to do anything to jeopardize the District Attorney's Case," the officer admitted. Both the prosecutor and the court, however, seemed to accept this admission as simply a statement on the way things are in the judicial system.

It is difficult for Skyhorse and Mohawk to conduct their defense while they are incarcerated. While they have the use of the telephone, there is still harassment. During a call to AKWESASNE NOTES, sheriff's deputies appeared on the scene, had an argument with Skyhorse, and hung up the phone.

The cabdriver was killed on the night of October 10, 1973. That day, Skyhorse and Mohawk were brought to Los Angeles by Virginia Deluce — who now turns out to be an FBI informer — for a rally in support of Sarah Bad Heart Bull, a move which made them visible and identified with the American Indian Movement.

After Aird's death was reported to police, Marvin Wayne Red Shirt, Holly Broussard, Marcella Eaglestaff and Amy Brokenleg were arrested at the scene of the crime with the victim's blood on their clothing, and his belongings in their possession. They were charged and bail was set. However, all charges against them have been dropped and immunity has been granted them in exchange for their giving evidence against Skyhorse and Mohawk, who insist they are being framed.

When Mohawk and Skyhorse were arrested October 17 in Phoenix where they were attending a National Indian Education Association convention, they were shown photos of themselves taken by the FBI at the October 10 rally. They were extradited to California and charged, although there was no physical evidence linking them with the crime.

A complete description of the case is in the last issue of AKWESASNE NOTES. For further information, or to send contributions for legal expenses, or to offer assistance in fundraising, legal work, publicity, etc., contact:

Skyhorse/Mohawk Judicial Liberation
PO Box 24
Santa Paula, California 93060
telephone (805) 525-3650

We Never Intended To Start A Newspaper

A HISTORY OF AKWESASNE NOTES



We never intended to start a newspaper.

AKWESASNE NOTES just grew organically from some unknown seed, nourished by spiritual strength from many directions. It has survived drought and hard-times.

Today, this newspaper seems more vitally needed than ever. The American Indian Press Association has folded, and independent native newspapers are few and far between. The establishment press seems to be censoring out news about native activities to create social change, and important events in contemporary history pass by unnoticed.

And in these confused times, as old nations take on new life and new nations show signs of old age, dialogue, direction, spiritual force, communication, understanding are equally as important as "news" to help the re-establishment of the Creation's plans for this Land and Life.

So, on this, the occasion of our 50th issue, perhaps it is time to get serious and decide to stay around a while.

Border-Crossing Issue Begins a Paper

In December, 1968, Mohawks at Akwesasne blocked the international bridge to protest Canadian restrictions against free border-crossing for native peoples, guaranteed under the Jay Treaty. It was necessary to hustle out information to raise support for the 50 persons arrested, and an 8½ x 14 offset reproduction of clippings about the protest was mailed out.

The first few issues were pasted up in Putney, Vermont, at the Antioch-Putney Graduate School. Then its scissors and paste moved into the battered motor-home which had been obtained so Akwesasne people could visit the paper's subscribers, and for a year, pages were prepared in service stations and rest areas and living-room floors across the country.

For a year or so, the problems at the border did not come up.

In January, 1972, AKWESASNE NOTES got its first regular home. With a \$1,000 down-payment, the newspaper bought an old home in Hogsburg for \$10,000, and moved in.

About the only other equipment the newspaper owned was a special IBM composing typewriter bought on a time-payment plan. Before that typewriter, the newspaper had consisted of pasted-up articles from other newspapers and magazines. The typewriter now made it possible to control the content, and to write our own articles. It wasn't until 1974 that additional IBM equipment was purchased to complete the typesetting system, making it possible to set type with even margins and to do book-quality work. That system, valued at \$15,000, is still being paid for.

Facilities are scarce on the reservation, and soon the newspaper office — which also was a residence for the four persons who worked on the paper — became a meeting house, teen-age drop-in center, and a place to accommodate outside visitors to the reservation. It was not uncommon to find as many as 30 outside visitors and 20 or so young people who came in to drum and sing in the house at one time, often making the publication of the newspaper come to a halt.

In the height of the pre-Watergate Nixon Era, the growing strength of the newspaper and the Longhouse apparently drew some attention. A six-months long campaign of disruption and harassment began, involving coordinated efforts of many state and federal agencies.

The first sign of trouble was an anonymous letter posted up in bars and public places on the reservation, alleging that AKWESASNE NOTES people had been recruiting "blacks and Puerto Ricans" for a massive takeover of the reservation by June 29. Agitated by the

With these maneuvers unsuccessful, Government officials tried another tact. Attorney Arthur Gajarsa, who had associations with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, talked to Wesleyan University in Connecticut, who acted as publisher for NOTES in order for it to have second-class mailing privileges. Whatever was said at that meeting is not known — but Wesleyan's president wrote U.S. Postal Service that it was withdrawing its sponsorship.

NOTES, however, was not notified. Its staff prepared the special issue dealing with the Trail of Broken Treaties, the Twenty Points, and the occupation of the BIA headquarters, and just after New Year's Day, 1973, some 400 mailbags full of addressed copies were taken to the post office. "We can't send your papers out," the local postmaster said. "Your second class mailing permit has been cancelled."



It took days of telephoning before the mailing was finally permitted. Two colleges came forward to replace Wesleyan — the American Studies Program of the State University of New York at Buffalo and DQ-U in Davis California, an Indian/Chicano institution, each agreed to act as publisher for postal purposes.

However, it took months for all the technical details to be cleared. All of this occurred at a critical point in native history — the story about what really was going on at Wounded Knee, 1973 did not get into the mails until early April when postal officials confided that the application was in the Postmaster General's office, and pressure by several senators shook it loose.

It was at this same time that Watergate broke out in the news. Whether it is a coincidence or not, NOTES official non-undercover harassment ceased on any kind of coordinated level.

A New Kind of Newspaper

By now, AKWESASNE NOTES was beginning to discover its own spirit. The circulation had increased from an original mailing of 900 to a few thousand. By October, 1969, it was 7,000. A year later, 10,000 copies were being printed, and by June of 1971, 18,000 copies. Early Autumn 1973 had 56,000 copies. In 1975, circulation had reached 69,000. This issue, 81,000 copies will be printed. Of that number, nearly 60,000 copies will go out immediately. 15,000 more will be requested by readers in the month following the initial mailing, and the rest will be kept as back issues which are requested at the rate of more than 100 each month.

At first, the paper was mailed out completely by hand. New names were typed out, and pasted on sheets of paper according to zip code. These were then xeroxed, and the copies were laboriously clipped out. Postal regulations require that papers be bundled according to a common destination, and that groups of bundles be routed by the mailbag. The tiny clipped labels were then pasted on to the papers by volunteers from the reservation who assembled for that special purpose.

However, as the volume of papers increased and the length of time involved kept getting longer and longer, a new system was needed. Now cards are typed, which must be filed by zip code, bundle and bag. These cards pass through a special photocopier which makes a long streamer of labels, which in turn are put on a machine which cuts them and glues them onto a passing stream of newspapers, one at a time. This method can address over 1,000 papers an hour. But still the papers have to be bundled by hand and placed into mailbags, a task requiring about nine persons for four very long days.

81,000 papers weigh 13½ tons. Initially, the paper was delivered by the printer, and taken to the post office by a station wagon. When we discovered that payments on a truck would be less than the cost of delivery, we invested in an old International truck. This winter, however, it gave up, and so far, we haven't been able to get enough ahead to get another.

Besides the newspaper, AKWESASNE NOTES took on other operations over the years. In 1971, to coincide with an article about Sitting Bull and the Sioux in Canada, we published a center-fold poster of Sitting Bull with the quotation, "Let us put our minds together and see what life we will make for our children." The poster was republished on poster-paper, leading the way for a series now numbering 28. Hundreds of thousands of posters have been distributed, which created the capital necessary for other projects, such as the AKWESASNE NOTES calendar.

THE OLDEST DAILY NEWSPAPER IN THE UNITED STATES—FOUNDED 1771

The Philadelphia Inquirer

PUBLIC LEDGER

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER FOR ALL THE PEOPLE

THURSDAY MORNING, DECEMBER 19, 1968



Canadian police remove Indian demonstrators during blockade of span by Indians. The Indians were protesting custom duties. Story on Page 18.

... from the front pages of North America's newspapers

THE STORY OF AKWESASNE'S STRUGGLE TO PROTECT THE RIGHT OF NORTH AMERICANS (INDIANS) TO TRAVEL FREELY



This is the way the front page of the first issue of AKWESASNE NOTES appeared.

For a year, the paper was published in the barber shop operated in Mike Boots' home on Cornwall Island Reserve at Akwesasne.

When someone came in for a haircut, papers spread out all over had to be gathered up. But it was good food and hospitality from the Boots family that gave us a strong spirit at a difficult time.

After a White Roots of Peace trip returned from the west, the editor of AKWESASNE NOTES was refused admission into the United States. For a while, Canadian officials were reluctant to permit him to go back into Canada, but after a few hours, they relented.

A few days later, the Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne gathered in council, and before a packed Longhouse — and after some debate — the Bear Clan adopted the editor as a citizen of the Mohawk Nation. While he held the Sacred Wampum, he was given the name "Rarihokwats", which in English means "He Digs Up Buried Information." He indicated his own pledge by giving his clan mother, Karonhianoron, a string of white shells. Following the provisions of the Great Law of Peace, the Iroquois Constitution, the people were instructed to forget his previous name, and not to raise the question of origin again, "lest the Great Peace be threatened."

rumors, and with a few drinks to abandon caution, passing night raiders threw bricks and bottles through windows of the NOTES office.

Tensions rose, and trouble seemed eminent. There were reports of fire-bombings and threats of death. Some New York State troopers came to be helpful, others came to say that "if you weren't here, there wouldn't be any trouble." Eventually, the date — the "take-over" came and went past, and cooler heads prevailed. Things quieted down, for the time.

Then in September, visitors came from the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and from the Internal Revenue Service. Hours before the scheduled departure of a White Roots of Peace trip in which Leonard Crow Dog was participating, Rarihokwats was arrested by a taskforce composed of U.S. Border Patrol, State Troopers, and Indian Police. He was charged with illegal entry into the U.S., and deportation proceedings were begun.

He was in jail for several days — even after bail was raised, officials refused to accept the money. In the late hours of the night, Border Patrol officials offered to have him released from the jail if he would go to Canada. Finally, a hearing was held in Buffalo, New York, on October 30, and a decision handed down by a special hearings officer months later ruled that Rarihokwats could continue to be in the U.S. associated with AKWESASNE NOTES.

Each year, more than 30,000 copies are printed. The 1977 calendar will be the sixth edition.

In 1970, NOTES offered for sale fifty paperback books on native peoples. That has now expanded into a mail-order book service shipping out hundreds of books each week, and maintaining an inventory of over 300 titles.

In 1972, NOTES published its first book at the request of Longhouse people — the Iroquois Constitution, or the Great Law of Peace, in the English language. Since then, other books have been published, some of them in cooperation with INDIGENA, IWGIA, National Indian Brotherhood of Canada, and the Six Nations Museum. The most popular has been VOICES FROM WOUNDED KNEE. Now the volume of printing for books, posters, and calendars is double the printing for the newspaper.

Through the kindness of Alexander Baclawski of Connecticut, the American Indian Tobacco and Enterprises, blenders of Kinni-kinnick, or herbal smoking mixtures, became a part of NOTES to help generate funds to keep the paper going, and to provide a means of support for young Longhouse people so they would not have to move to the city for employment.

White Roots of Peace, the travelling communications group, operates as a part of NOTES. With speakers and participants from many other nations, the group visits college campuses and reservations throughout North America. The group got started at the same time as the newspaper, when during its first year, the editor worked at outside employment to save up funds to buy an ancient motor home to transport young Mohawks about to meet subscribers to the paper, and to see what was going on in the world.

Since its inception, the group has been on over 400 college campuses and nearly as many reservations, prisons, and urban centers. It has travelled close to 300,000 miles, including trips to Mexico and Guatemala. This summer, it will sponsor an earthquake relief taskforce to aid the people of one Cakchikel pueblo of Guatemala, San Jose Poaquil.

To help finance the early trips, the group sold crafts, mostly bought from Akwesasne basketmakers. Soon, baskets and other crafts were being offered to NOTES readers and to retailers. Today, over \$30,000 a year is added to the income of Akwesasne basketmakers by a cooperative purchasing program. The same idea is now being extended to craftsmen in Guatemala who desperately need income to help in the reconstruction of their earthquake-torn nation.

In 1971, Willie Dunn, a Micmac-Metis folksinger, offered to donate an album of his music for production by AKWESASNE NOTES. That album, "Willie Dunn", required a heavy initial investment, but as it moves toward its third pressing, Willie's gift is beginning to aid in NOTES finances. Similarly, Mickey Posluns, a Canadian Broadcasting System freelance producer, established the NOTES tape program which now has a library of about 100 programs which are duplicated for use by individuals and libraries.

NOTES was asked by Tony Isaacs of Indian House Records to become a distributor of its line of beautiful recordings of the music of the people, and still another source of revenue was added to support the operation.

The main single source of revenue, however, continues to be the readers of the paper — a broad base of support to cover the \$7,000 required to pay just the printing and postage costs of a single issue. For example, an average day's mail recently netted NOTES \$119.75 in contributions and sales by those who get a bundle of the newspaper. There were 28 persons sending in money for an average donation of about \$4. Three sent in \$1, and the highest for the day was \$25. Many readers can't — or don't — send in anything at all.

The whole theory of NOTES financing has grown with the paper. Most bills are paid in advance — we feared the paper might be shut down by creditors during lean times or overly-ambitious purchases. Each operation is expected to pay for itself — and to create the money necessary to finance its own expansion or the creation of another operation.

AKWESASNE NOTES remains independent of control of outside organizations. It does not receive government grants. It has been aided, however, by the United Methodist Voluntary Service, which covers premiums for a medical/hospital insurance policy so volunteers working with the paper do not have to worry about doctor bills. UMVS also covers the subsistence costs of one NOTES volunteer.

Also, the World Council of Churches Special Fund to Combat Racism gave AKWESASNE NOTES a cash award in 1975.

AKWESASNE NOTES operates on the theory of giving, and depends on its readers, primarily, for support. Its method of operation prevents it from having frequent financial crises, and yet there is little money to spare. Often the money from a day's mail is taken directly to the bank to cover checks written that same day. Often basic necessary items cannot be purchased for months until there is sufficient money to cover the cost. But somehow, NOTES seems to put out a lot of materials for the funds it has available.

Some readers have come to help personally. Art Solomon comes down from northern Ontario to teach us survival skills, to give us wild rice, and to repair sagging beams or to build shelves. Curtis Lacey made us a table and brought it up from Albany. Mary King sent file cabinets. A Woodstock artist brought us her paintings. These are just a few examples of people who have aided our survival in this way.

NOTES operates with four kinds of volunteers. There are those who help from their own homes in the manner listed above. Others from Akwesasne have helped from time to time by helping to file the mailing list, or painting the interior of the office, by accommodating an overflow of visitors, bringing in a pot of corn soup, donating land for a garden, getting the paper in the mail.

Still other volunteer workers come from a distance to



Human Beings Joining Hands in a Round Dance At a White Roots of Peace Meeting

help for a few days or a week or two. Helpers are specifically sought to help with planting, harvest, woodcutting, Spring cleaning, construction, painting. Our experience is teaching us that our work needs are very specific, and oftentimes there isn't much for people to do who "just come to help." Skills are needed — typing, bookkeeping, research, writing, layout. First preference is always given to volunteers from Akwesasne, then other native people, and then all others.

The core of those who help NOTES, however, are volunteers who take on specific responsibilities over a long period of time. Because they work full time at that, it is necessary to provide them an allowance for clothing (\$30/month), for personal needs (\$30/month), and to provide food and shelter for them and their children, if any. Funds for this come from the earnings of the other operations, such as the book sales or posters.

In addition, NOTES staff volunteers live without much material possessions in a simple life-style. With the help of gardeners like Mike and Agnes Boots, Archie Boots and Raosennawane, much of the NOTES food supply is raised here. Most of the staff are not vegetarians, but little meat is consumed. We manage on what we have — the main house, for example, has four single beds and usually ten or twelve persons sleep on the floor.

The workload is not easy. Sixteen, 18, even 20 hour days are not uncommon at times. While staff people generally prefer to spend more time in gardens or in other self-sufficiency activities, that is not always possible if printing deadlines and other urgent needs are to be met.

AKWESASNE NOTES seems to have an independent spirit of its own, and over the years, certain policies have evolved. Since it is a reader's paper, there are usually lots of letters. Since the purpose of the paper is to increase dialogue, it is the responsibility of the readers to reply to points of view, and the editorial staff rarely responds in print to a letter-to-the-editor.

Some people ask, "How many of your readers are Indians?" We don't know. We know we have lots and lots of Indian readers, but we feel that we have a responsibility to raise the consciousness of non-native peoples too, for native problems can come from Washington and New York City as well as from the reservations. NOTES can be found in major libraries throughout North America and in hundreds of universities.

AKWESASNE NOTES has tried to maintain an independent stance. Some readers assume NOTES is an American Indian Movement newspaper. True, we have printed lots of news about AIM, but unless the movement of native peoples has an independent critic, it cannot grow. Furthermore, if communications for an entire movement gets centered in one organization, if that organization runs into troubles, the whole commu-

nications effort suffers — and at a time when communications might be most needed. NOTES is not in the propaganda and publicity business, and it encourages every cause, every organization, to develop its own capabilities in this area so that neither their group nor ours becomes vulnerable because of its monopoly.

AKWESASNE NOTES is not in competition with any other newspaper. There should be many more international, national, regional and local native newspapers, and we encourage them, share with them, and wish them well.

Expanding Toward the Mountains

The first home of AKWESASNE NOTES has proved to be too small, and its ½-acre lot permits neither expansion or other activities such as large-scale gardening. Several years ago, our minds started turning to the

mountains near Akwesasne for these practical reasons — and prophecy as well. An appeal was printed for assistance in obtaining a land base for the newspaper so that it could expand.

Finally, a letter came from Connecticut from a reader who said simply that she believed in what we were doing, and she wanted to help by making available to us the land we needed. Her land is 38 miles from the reservation border, in a wilderness area — beautiful mountains, forest, animals, birds, medicines, clear streams, a special spirit.

The first move was made there a year ago with the book shipping operation, which moved into a cabin without electricity or running water. The crew there managed to survive the difficult and bitter winter, cutting much of the wood with a crosscut saw to keep the fire going, hauling water from the stream. Now additional operations are to be moved there — but additional simple structures are needed for the working community which will develop there.

Which is what all this leads up to. For the 50th issue of AKWESASNE NOTES, we are establishing a fund for the purchase of materials for construction of shelter for staff, and the facility for the production of the newspaper. Natural materials will be used for building where possible.

The goal for the fund is substantial — \$50,000 — and yet small, for that amount is less than \$1 for each of the copies mailed out in this issue. That amount will complete the purchase of equipment now being bought on time, pay off debts and loans which have accumulated over the years, but mainly, it will buy roofing, cement, nails, windows, milled lumber.

Finally, AKWESASNE NOTES will have a home. Maybe then we can really get serious about putting out a good newspaper.

[Contributions to the AKWESASNE NOTES Building Fund will be deposited in a special account just for that purpose. Already, several small contributions and one large one of \$3,000 have been received. Donors will be commemorated by a listing of names on a permanent framed scroll of birchbark. We are projecting that it might take as long as four years to reach the goal — but we're hoping that readers will want to kick it off to a good start on this, the occasion of our 50th issue. Send contributions to:

**AKWESASNE NOTES
Building Fund
via Roosevelttown, N.Y. 13683 J**

"There is
always
a strong
wind
when a
good
man
dies."

Peigan Nation (Alberta) — In a shroud of buckskin, decorated with bone and beads, Nelson Small Legs, Jr., was buried May 21 in the foothills of the Rocky Mountains, a Sacred Pipe laid across his chest.

Small Legs, 23, put a .303-rifle to his chest May 16 after writing a suicide note that he was sacrificing his life in the cause of native rights.

After his death, friends found where he had smoked his pipe in his sweatlodge shortly before he took his life.

American Indian Movement supporters, friends, and family gathered to bury their brother. The burial procession moved across the windy prairie led by Nelson's father mounted on an Apaloosa stallion, followed by a riderless horse which had belonged to his son and which carried his possessions to the graveside.

Nelson's mother, Florence, summed up the feelings of those who had gathered to let the family know they would not forget the action taken by Small Legs, who hoped that his death — one death — would be enough to bring about change for his people.

As she watched the strong winds blow through the prairie grass, she said, "There is always a strong wind when a good man dies."

The burial was in the Blackfoot way, but the funeral mass earlier was Roman Catholic. It was held in the Bocket School, where 300 persons sat in the auditorium, another 300 stood, and several hundred waited outside.

As Nelson's father emerged from the service, wearing his full headdress, he lifted aloft handfuls of eagle feathers and thanked the assembled hundreds for coming to share his grief.

Small Legs had carefully considered his death. "My suicide should open up the eyes of non-Indians into how much we've suffered. I give up my life in protest to the present conditions concerning Indian people of southern Alberta."

"We'll never forget these notes," Ed Burnstick, Canadian AIM director said.

What Nelson Small Legs' note did not explain, however, was how he, a quiet, stable man with two small children and plans for the future, could raise his rifle to his chest as a final step in his fight for his people.

He had spent his life working for change. A few months ago, he met with his former high school principal to ask advice on setting up a seminar on Indian issues for high school teachers. In recent weeks, he'd been working on a street program to help native people in Fort McLeod. Two days before his suicide, Nelson spoke before the Mackenzie Pipeline hearings at Calgary.

On Saturday, he spent the day with his brother and friends at the horse races, and stayed up late that night. He didn't seem depressed or brooding. Then he drove the 130 miles southwest from Calgary to the reservation and shot himself at 3:30 Sunday afternoon. "He learned what holding the Indian down meant. He tried to do something about it," his younger brother, Devalon says. "He tried working through the regular channels and he saw we were running out of channels without any improvement. He could see that direct confrontation and violence may turn out to be the only channel left. He was not a violent person. I think he chose the least violent way to try and wake the people up."

In November, 1974, Nelson Small Legs was one of a group of native people who occupied the Calgary office of the Department of Indian Affairs in a protest. He had been a student at the Lethbridge Community College at the time. In 1975 at the touristy Calgary



— Jean-Francois/AKWESASNE NOTES photo
Nelson Small Legs Sr. leads the horse of his deceased son, Nelson Jr., while another brother rides along ahead of the burial procession.

Stampede, he demanded of officials that native people be included in the opening ceremony. "The Indian people will not be satisfied being an extension of the midway," he told them — and won his demand.

More recently, he had complained of harassment by the Mounties. "The RCMP have us under constant surveillance," he said.

And so preceding his suicide was frustration, anger, and outrage.

Nelson's uncle found him after his death. Nelson was lying on the living room floor, fully dressed in the traditional clothes of his people with a Peigan flag, dressed exactly ready for his burial. Nearby were the suicide notes.

One was addressed to his people, explaining that in addition to protesting the living conditions of his people, "I also give my life in the hope of a full-scale investigation into the Department of Indian Affairs corruption and also the resignation of Judd Buchanan, the minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, and the divide-and-conquer tactics present on each reservation. For 100 years Indians have suffered. Must they suffer another 100 years?"

Another note was addressed to AIM leaders, and a third note made personal requests.

Burnstick read two of the notes at the graveside. "We've never been a violent people," Burnstick commented. "But it's time to start thinking about our children. Is there any future for us?"

As southern Alberta director of AIM, Small Legs is credited with keeping the lid on a situation increasingly pointing toward violence among young native people. He himself had experienced a rough road. He went away from home at age 13 to board with white families in Lethbridge so he could attend Catholic Central High School. There he did what his white friends were doing: injecting cocaine, taking pills, drinking heavily.

But when he returned to the reservation, he became involved in the spiritual ways of the Peigan people. He studied under tribal elder Charlie Crow Eagle, purified himself in the sweatlodge, and pledged the sun dance.

Devalon says it was hearing the testimony before the pipeline inquiry that "was the straw that broke the camel's back." "My brother could see what was happening to Indians in the Northwest Territories. He could see it is similar to what we had 100 years ago."

In Ottawa, Judd Buchanan was reluctant to discuss the name of Nelson Small Legs. He appears bothered by the fact that Nelson mentioned his name in the suicide notes. "What really concerns me is the media who have given this incident an exposure beyond belief," Buchanan says. "The youth was a member of the American Indian Movement, and that's an import without an elected base that we can very well do without."

Buchanan said Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau had looked into the facts of Small Legs' death, and was satisfied that the progress reports on housing and education had indicated all was well in Indian Country.

Just as Nelson Small Legs has become a symbol of total dedication to his people, so Judd Buchanan has

become a symbol of all that is wrong with Indian Affairs. The minister is a self-made man of wealth through the insurance business who has little gut sympathy or rapport with native people. The death of Nelson Small Legs is just one incident in Buchanan's department's continuing undeclared war with the 275,000 native people Canada recognizes.



Nelson Small Legs, Jr.

Nelson Gutnick, an ex-employee of the Department of Indian Affairs was at the funeral, but none of his former colleagues came. He had only criticism for the federal ministry. Gutnick resigned in 1975 from his position as a supervisor of social services in the Calgary office. "I left Indian Affairs because the kind of change that I consider to be crucial is unacceptable to them. There has to be more Indian involvement in decision-making. There has to be more than consultation with the Indians. It is too easy for Indian Affairs to consult and then ignore what they hear. It's too easy to ignore ideas, to make promises and then negate them, when you don't have the Indians themselves involved."

[Thanks to Suzanne Zwarin of the Toronto Globe and Mail, Dan Proudfoot in the Toronto Sun and Mary Janigan of the Toronto Star for parts of the information used here.]

"F.B.I." TRIALS COMING UP

[Leonard Peltier wrote AKWESASNE NOTES "a short letter to my brothers and sisters in prison and underground."]

Hello, Brothers & Sisters:

I know there's a lot of us in prison — but keep your spirits up because the movement has grown enormous just in the last few months, bigger than I expected. They are not saying they're AIM — but they're talking our language. The new leaders are talking heavy.

I know the Government will have to decide what course of action to take soon, because these new leaders are impatient.

They can't and will never break the movement. We might see some changes soon — hopefully, anyway.

Carter [Camp], hope you are doing good or the best that can be.

My boy has grown to be quite a fellow — going to be a good warrior some day.

May the Great Spirit always protect us in our struggle,

Your brother,

*Leonard Peltier POW 261755
Drawer O
Burnaby, B.C. V5H 3B4*



— Indian Nation

Leonard Peltier Waves at Supporters Before Extradition Hearings

Trials are coming up soon for three of the four men which the FBI says murdered two of its agents last June 26. The fourth, Leonard Peltier, remains in Canada where he is fighting removal back to the U.S. for trial.

Jimmy Eagle's trial has been severed from the rest. He is represented by Robert Bryan of Birmingham, Alabama.

Robert Robideau and Dino Butler, whose defense is being handled by the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee, have been moved from Rapid City, where the Committee has its offices, to Cedar Rapids, Iowa. Their trial is slated for late May, and they remain in custody with bail set at \$250,000 each. The case will be heard by U.S. District Court Judge Edward McManus.

All defendants have steadfastly maintained their innocence, saying they were not even in the area. Peltier says he wasn't even in South Dakota. He has no previous convictions. He served some time in the U.S. Marines, and was given a medical discharge because of a partially-paralyzed face resulting from a beating by police. He is also wanted in Wisconsin on a charge of attempted murder of a policeman. His supporters in Canada say because of the anti-AIM campaign in the U.S., he will be convicted and imprisoned despite his innocence.

Peltier was born on the Turtle Mountain Reservation. His family moved to the West Coast in the late 1950s to find employment.

Peltier has a good reputation for his efforts to improve conditions for native people who come to the city. He started an auto body shop in 1972 to create jobs. He was active in the Trail of Broken Treaties, the Alexian Novitiate takeover, and Washington fishing rights struggles.

"To deport Leonard Peltier to the U.S. in these circumstances is the same as deporting a political refugee to some brutal fascist country where he would face immediate death," said Harry Rankin, a member of the Vancouver City Council.

The documents demanding Peltier's return are signed by U.S. Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger. The U.S. lawyer, Paul Helprin, said he will introduce eye-witnesses placing Peltier at the scene of the FBI shootings, as well as other circumstantial evidence. Peltier's attorneys have challenged Helprin's right to be before the court, saying that a foreign government had no standing in the proceedings other than to submit evidence to establish that there is a valid case against Peltier.

Helprin read affidavits from FBI agents who said that they saw Peltier near where the FBI agents were killed. They must have had good eye-sight — identification came at 700 yards through telescopic rifle sights.

He also read a statement by Myrtle Poor Bear that she "saw Leonard Peltier shoot the FBI agents" and that

he had been planning it for several days. Poor Bear said Peltier had information the FBI would be coming to the Jumping Bull residence to serve a warrant on Jimmy Eagle.

But Myrtle Poor Bear has given evidence before. She is the same person who told a jury in South Dakota in April that Dick Marshall had said he had murdered Martin Montilou — Marshall is supposed to have had as an accomplice Russell Means, AIM leader. Under cross-examination, Poor Bear admitted that she had been told by the FBI to say this, and that she is a regularly-paid FBI informant. Still, the South Dakota white jury proceeded to find Marshall guilty and he has been sentenced to life imprisonment at hard labor.

Myrtle Poor Bear was identified to the court as "Peltier's ex-girl friend." "I'm still wondering who the hell she is," Peltier muses.

American Indian Movement members charged that Canadian Government border officials were harassing them when they tried to enter Canada to aid Peltier's campaign against extradition. Canadian Consul-General Ray Anderson in Seattle promised to investigate complaints that members of Peltier's family had been stripped and searched and subjected to "abusive questioning" by officials. Anderson said he was "very moved" by an account of the incident given by Ellen Moves Camp. AIM people say Canada is acting on behalf of the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Canadian authorities have kept Peltier in solitary confinement since his arrest. He is shackled hand and foot and is accompanied by heavily-armed guard each time he leaves his cell — all of this for a man who has never been charged with a crime in Canada, and who has no criminal record in the U.S.

On the streets of Vancouver, native people are being harassed after the FBI tipped provincial Attorney-General Garde Gardom that AIM members might be planning to disrupt the Habitat Conference being held there in June. In fact, when there was a peaceful demonstration at Habitat, police were wall-to-wall, and had snipers on roof-tops.

According to Barry Moving Rock, a member of the Defense Committee, "There isn't a place in Vancouver that you can go where Indian People are where you won't find broken noses and people who were beaten up by the police."

When Edgar Bear Runner and Louis Badwound of Pine Ridge checked into a hotel in Vancouver after traveling to help the defense efforts, shortly after midnight while the men were sleeping the door to their room was kicked in by police officers. Officers ransacked the room, saying they were "looking for grass". Bear Runner and Badwound say that earlier that day, they had been spotted by an FBI agent who had been on active duty at Pine Ridge.

Police seem also to be routinely stopping and searching cars with out-of-state plates carrying native people.

Peltier also told NOTES that he is worried because the FBI was taking down information on persons testifying on his behalf. He believes that when these people return to the U.S., they will be hassled. "If there is some way to expose what they are doing before they murder one of them, I would be greatly relieved," Peltier says.

Canadian observers of Peltier's hearing weren't particularly surprised at the presence of numerous U.S. FBI agents around the courtroom. What did surprise them, however, was how eager Canadian authorities are to aid the FBI, even to the point of waging a campaign of harassment against native people in Vancouver.

Although many local citizens and native people were unable to gain entry to the hearings, it was obvious from the number of shiny black shoes even in the upper courtroom gallery which was closed to the public that police visitors from the States were being given preferential treatment. Only 50 of the 200 persons seeking admission to the May 3 hearing were able to get in.

Peltier's attorney, Ron Rosenbloom, appealed to Justice W.A. Shultz to rule that the U.S. had no standing in the courtroom, and that it was up to the Canadian Department of Justice to press for extradition. Other technical arguments served to buy Peltier a little more time. Under U.S./Canada treaty law, all that is required of the U.S. is to show that there is reason for Leonard Peltier to be present for trial in the States. It is only on the grounds that he is a political refugee, that the crimes he is charged with are of a political nature, and that he faces death if returned to the U.S. that he will be permitted to remain in Canada.

The decision rests finally with Federal Justice Minister Ron Basford in Ottawa. "I'm badly in need of letters to the Minister of Justice and the Prime Minister, Pierre Trudeau. I'm sure they will help," Peltier wrote AKWESASNE NOTES.

Letters asking Canada to give refuge to Peltier on the grounds that he is a political refugee who would face death in the U.S. can be sent to:

Hon. Ron Basford
Minister of Justice
House of Commons
Ottawa, Canada

Pelletier's lawyers say the extradition proceedings are a continuation of the hostilities between native people and the U.S. Government. "Although these actions in the U.S. are being treated as criminal trials, I view them as political trials," Pelletier told the court May 14. "This is only a continuation of past North American governmental policy of oppressing Indians by using the court system against our people," he said.

Donations to aid in Pelletier's defense may be sent to:

Leonard Pelletier Legal Defence Committee
1855 Vine St.
Vancouver, B.C.

Charges Dismissed In Oregon Trial

It took U.S. District Judge Robert Belloni exactly eighteen minutes and 55 seconds on May 12 to dismiss firearms and explosives charges against four American Indian Movement defendants.

Three of the defendants — Kamook Banks, Kenneth Loudhawk and Russell Redner — had been arrested after a widely-publicized police seige on a motor home in Oregon, and charges of illegal possession of firearms and explosives were filed. Police claimed that Dennis Banks had fled from the scene, and he was later arrested by the FBI in California. Also arrested in that November 14 incident was Anna Mae Aquash, who was taken back to South Dakota to face other charges before her tragic and mysterious death. Kamook, who was eight months pregnant at the time, was returned to Wichita, Kansas, to face similar firearms charges.

The AIM members had charged a frame-up from the beginning. Police said they found two cases of dynamite in the vehicle, but for some unknown reason, police say, the dynamite was destroyed.

Another person who police say fled from the scene of the arrest was Leonard Peltier, now fighting extradition from Canada to the U.S. where he is charged with the slaying of two FBI agents last June 26.

At the trial, Judge Belloni asked the U.S. to proceed with the prosecution. The prosecutor said he wasn't ready. The defense moved for dismissal, and the motion was granted. The move was not unexpected since in pre-trial motions, the court had ruled that most of the evidence the U.S. planned to use was inadmissible.

The dismissal will be important in fighting other charges which AIM members say are also frame-ups since it becomes part of a pattern of U.S. harassment through the court system of native leaders.

Kamook Banks had also been charged in the Custer Courthouse Battle in 1973, but charges against her were dropped just this April. Her conviction in Kansas is under appeal. Her bail in Oregon had at first been \$100,000, then \$50,000, then \$20,000 and on February 23 she was released in third-party custody.

Redner is a Shoshone who recently graduated from Humboldt State College in Eureka, California, with a degree in sociology. Lous Hawk is from Ogalala, Nebraska.

The situation began when the Portland FBI office heard from two "reliable informants" — one of whom had passed on over 100 tips before — that Dennis Banks and Leonard Peltier, then wanted on federal warrants, were traveling "in convoy" in a motor home and a station wagon. An Oregon State policeman spotted two vehicles fitting the description. He forced the motor home to pull off the road and arrested Kamook and Anna Mae.

The police say that the motor home was driven off for about a mile, where it was found empty. They say

Dennis Banks was the driver. Loudhawk and Redner were riding in the station wagon and were arrested by a second patrol car. At first the group was charged with harboring a fugitive — Banks. However, unable to produce a fugitive, those charges were dropped several days later, but not before the charges were changed to possession of explosives after the police suddenly found a box labelled "Dupont" in the back seat.



— Portland Times
Kamook & Dennis Banks in Oregon

U.S. Attorney Sid Lezak, obviously feeling the pressure of a decisive defeat, vowed he would appeal Belloni's decision to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. Loud Hawk and Redner still face state charges of carrying a weapon with intent to use in connection with the exact same eastern Oregon incident for which they were to have been tried in Belloni's court.

The trial had been preceded by a six-column front-page banner headline in the *Oregon Journal* for April 20. It read: "TERRORIST THREATS TIGHTEN GUARDS ON PORTLAND BUILDINGS" and the story went on to connect the threats with the upcoming trial of Dennis Banks. However, there was no information to legitimize this connection, and investigation by Paul Lobell of the *Portland Scribe*, an alternate newspaper, found that there had never been any. Banks called the article "one of the most negative pieces of journalism I have seen in my life."

"On the whole, the incident seems to bring to issue the awesome power of the straight press in determining what is News, what kind of information people get about such issues as "terrorist threats", the American Indian Movement, and the possibility of social change generally," wrote Lobell.

Banks was finally found in California by the FBI. He announced he would oppose extradition to South Dakota to face sentencing in a state court, and widespread support came to his aid.

At a rally in San Francisco's Civic Center Plaza, 4000 people showed up — the biggest demonstration in the area since the end of the Vietnam War. A petition to Governor Brown with 150,000 California signatures urged him not to grant extradition, and another half-million signatures from around the U.S. added emphasis.

When Banks showed up in U.S. Federal Court in Portland, South Dakota tried to have him extradited from Oregon, as well. He is free on \$5,000 bond while a governor's extradition hearing is impending.

Elaine Brown of the Black Panther Party told a rally, "We will all open our homes. We will open up this state so that Dennis Banks does not have to go back to South Dakota to be killed. We have the power. We the people are the majority. This is not an Indian issue. This is not a white issue or a Black Panther issue. This is an issue of human beings who are beginning to struggle together, who believe in Power to the People."

To substantiate his claim of injustice in South Dakota, Banks has told rallies about incidents from his trial in Custer last summer. He tells how the court totally prohibited any news coverage of the trial. About how State Attorney General William Janklow intimidated witnesses by threatening to jail them as soon as they got off the witness stand. And about how defense counsel Daniel Jackson, who had been appointed by the state, testified that Janklow had threatened to "get him".

When Banks was released in California on bond awaiting the extradition hearings, Janklow termed the move "absolutely absurd" and that he was "frustrated" and "disgusted" by what he called "preferential treatment" for Banks by the courts.

Banks said that he thought the U.S. procrastination came on direct orders from the White House — the May 12 trial date was only two weeks before the Oregon presidential primary. He said he expected to be reindicted after the primaries were completed, but Belloni, in dismissing the charges, dismissed "with prejudice", meaning that the U.S. cannot file new charges in the same matter.

Banks' assertions of dangers for him in South Dakota were verified by Father John Garvey of Aberdeen. The priest said that if Banks were to return, "He doesn't stand a chance." North Dakota State Senator Pamela Holand also came to Oregon to speak of the injustices to native people in the Dakotas.

Butler, Robideau Trial Begins.....

Cedar Rapids, Iowa

Dino Butler and Bob Robideau, whose names seem to have been picked out of a hat for the slaying of two FBI agents June 26, 1975, are being tried for murder here before U.S. District Judge Edward McManus. His nickname of "Speedy Eddie" which he earned during the trial of Leonard Crow Dog seems to be the case in this trial as well: he has ruled that jury selection will take two hours: one hour for questions by the prosecution, and one by the defense.

Defending the men will be William Kunstler, John Lowe of Charlottesville, Iew Gurwitz, and Jack Schwartz and Bruce Ellison of the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee.

Butler and Robideau moved to have their trial taken out of Rapid City — a survey showed 74% of the persons questioned felt the defendants were guilty before the trial had even begun. The U.S. shifted the case to Cedar Rapids, Iowa, which may not be much better — it is 98% white. On April 21, the two men were taken by four carloads of U.S. marshalls and South Dakota Highway Patrol to the State Penitentiary at Sioux Falls, clean across the state from Rapid City. There, they were placed in punitive segregation — strip cells and solitary confinement. So much for innocence before proven guilty.

Before the move, officials claimed they found several full-length hacksaw blades in the two cells which the defendants shared with 14 other people. However, only Butler and Robideau were accused of attempting to escape. All their personal property, including law books and confidential legal documents written for their attorneys were confiscated.

On May 7, the men were taken to the Linn County jail

in Cedar Rapids. There, Robideau refused to be fingerprinted. His legal counsel had advised him that since he had been printed several times in other jails, further printing could be assumed to be illegal. Deputies ignored his repeated requests to consult with his counsel — instead, they punched him in the head and knocked him to the floor. Robideau remained passive, knowing that any resistance would result in an

assault charge — and he's not very big, anyhow. As a result of the beating, he received five stitches in the back of his head and medical attention for an eye injury.

On May 12, city and police officials told employees of the city and federal buildings in Cedar Rapids that armed Indians and Chicanos were coming to town, and that shooting incidents, hostages, ambushes were possible. Workers were advised to be careful coming to and from work. Later, federal agents and local police called area press to ask if the rumors about armed Indians were true.

The Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee is running on a budget that isn't even shoe-string. Donations, support, legal workers, fundraisers are urgently needed.
Contact:

WKLD OC
PO Box 4064
Cedar Rapids, Iowa 52407
telephone (319) 364-6895



[Thanks to Plexus and Walrus Oakenbaugh, Ernest Harsch for Intercontinental Press, David Corkery and Pacific News Service, Dennis Cassano and the Minneapolis Star, Michael Sroufe and the Portland Scribe, Jose Perez of the Militant and Liberation News Service, Cynthia Krolik of the Michigan Free Press, Steve Suagee and the Loudhawk-Redner Offense/Defense Committee, Black Panther Intercommunal News Service, United Press International, Joe Lombardo and Arnold Weissberg of the Militant, Tom Beck of Oregon Times for information used here in these pages covering Pine Ridge and the American Indian Movement. Thanks also to John Mabbott and the Georgia Straight.]

THE ARREST OF REDNER AND LOUD HAWK

[This account of the arrest of American Indian Movement members in Oregon on charges which were dismissed by a U.S. District Court, is by Tom Bates, editor of the Oregon Times Magazine, to which we are grateful. This excellent periodical is available at 1000 SW Third Ave., Portland, Oregon 97204, sample copy \$1.]

For a militant Indian like Russ Redner, life is full of ironies. How could he have imagined in 1965, when he was entering Santo Domingo with the 82nd Airborne, that he would one day confront his own commanders at Wounded Knee? And when, with the 101st Airborne, he was ordered to suppress Detroit's black ghetto, how could he have guessed that one of those riots would grow a program called "Garden Plot" for burying his own people? And while as a teenager, he was living in the home of a white Eureka policeman, how could he have guessed that, many years later, on a cold November night in the Oregon desert, another white law enforcer would point a gun to his head and threaten to blow it off?

He begins to shiver as the cold of the asphalt penetrates his shirt. His hands are bound behind him with nylon cuffs and he strains to keep his face off the pavement. "Turn your head over, Indian," the trooper barks. Lying next to Russ are Anna Mae, Kamook, and Ken. Kamook, eight months with child, is having trouble staying on her stomach. "Are you sure she's pregnant or does she have an M-16 in there?" Troopers chuckle, driving off their chills. "Don't talk, Indian."

An hour goes by. More and more peace officers arrive, lining the Interstate with their cars, blasting the dark with searchlights. But nothing moves out there in the sage flats. The "fugitives," whoever they were, have vanished.

The troopers think it's AIM leaders Dennis Banks and Leonard Peltier out there. "Armed and extremely dangerous," the FBI has told them. Trooper Ken Griffiths believes he drew fire from Peltier as the latter was leaping a fence, making his run for it. Griffiths opened up with his shotgun, obliging Anna Mae and Kamook, who were in the line of fire, to hit the deck. Kamook sheltered her two-year-old daughter in her arms.

The father of the children in her arms and womb is Dennis Banks, whom police suspect was the person who drove the camper while they were firing at the person they suspect was Peltier. Troopers found the camper, which they claim

belonged to Marlon Brando, a mile down the road. They filled it with buckshot and teargas before discovering that there was no one inside.

Another hour goes by. The four captives are still lying on the road as the search continues. A rancher stops his pickup. "Hey, if you guys need any help, I got a shotgun!" The toopers don't need any help, because as they explain to Redner, Officer Kramer is carrying a 357-magnum, quite sufficient to blow his top off.

Three days later Russ and Kenny Loud Hawk are charged by the State of Oregon with "possession of a dangerous weapon with intent to use." The evidence against Russ is a buck-knife found in a leather sheath on his belt. Kenny also carried a buck knife of the folding variety in his pocket, but was not charged for it. Instead, he was charged for a handgun found under the seat of the station wagon they were travelling in. Evidently the state figures Loud Hawk did not intend to use the knife he was carrying, but did intend to use the gun he was not carrying. However, there is no evidence to suggest that the two "armed" with knives offered to take on state troopers armed with shotguns the night of November 14, 1975.

The state charges against the two men are class C felonies, for which the usual bail is \$1500. Nita Bellows, the Ontario, Oregon, Justice of the Peace, set bail at \$50,000 each. Bill Williams, PR man for the FBI's Portland office, has "no comment" on how the nervous beehive-haired Bellows arrived at such a figure.

Redner and Loud Hawk were held in isolation tanks in Vale over the weekend. They were questioned without being informed of their rights under the Miranda Rule. AIM attorney Beverly Axelrod learned of the incident indirectly, flew up from San Francisco, and was denied access to the prisoners until Monday, when they were to be arraigned. Civics classes at Vale High School scheduled that day for a tour of the jail.

Following arraignment, the four prisoners were taken to Portland via Boise to face federal charges. The trip to Boise had been rehearsed the day before. Each prisoner was handcuffed and placed in a FBI car with three agents. State police ran ahead, among, and behind the FBI cars. In all, perhaps 20 vehicles took part in the caravan. A 60-mile *cordon sanitaire* was secured by state police cars stationed at half-mile intervals along the

route, with local police securing intersections in the town along the way. One would have thought that it was the *capo dei capi* under guard, rather than four young people who had never hurt a hair on anyone's head.

Riding in the car with Ken Loud Hawk was an FBI agent from Rapid City, South Dakota. He thought Ken might know something about the two FBI agents who were killed on Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota last June. "If you tell me who did it," he said, "we could make a deal. Transportation of firearms is a very serious charge."

"He gave me this paper, but I didn't sign nothin'," says Ken. "He made me read it, told me I was 21 years old and had a good life ahead of me... Then," says Ken in his matter-of-fact way, "he ran out of words."

Mr. Thomas Hawk, quickly nicknamed "Tommy" by the defendants, is the Assistant U.S. Attorney assigned to prosecute this case in Portland. I asked him if the FBI was authorized to engage in plea-bargaining. "The FBI does not engage in plea-bargaining," he said, somewhat indignantly. The Portland office of the FBI will not comment on interrogation of suspects, and furthermore, denies any role in the transportation of the prisoners. "We are a strictly investigative agency," says the FBI's Williams.

Another large contingent of FBI agents, some carrying guitar cases, accompanied the suspects on the United flight to Portland, along with four U.S. Marshalls and an uncounted number of airline security agents.

I asked Mr. Williams of the Portland FBI if they regarded AIM as a "subversive" movement. He would not comment except to say that "members of AIM have in the past publicly indicated a desire for change through the use of violence." It might also be said that the FBI has indicated a desire to *prevent* change through the use of violence, that the Government, indeed, has been immeasurably violent compared to AIM.

"We redmen have replaced the Vietnamese," says Russ Redner. "Our hamlets are being searched and burned, the Government is building up to another My Lai."

As one who stormed Hamburger Hill, who made over 50 jumps, whose body is permanently peppered with shrapnel, Redner should know. In fact, Russ Redner is a walking irony of history.

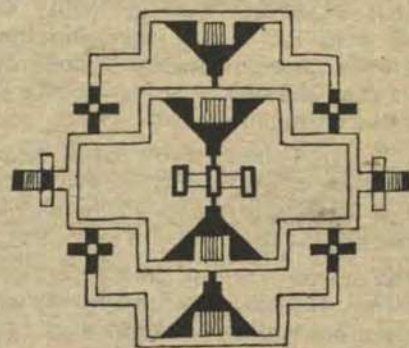
Brought up by a white policeman, he was studying police science when the draft hit him. He chose to enlist in order to learn a useful skill. The Army trained him to kill. From 1964 to 1968 he served with the 82nd and 101st Air-

borne Divisions in Santo Domingo, Panama, Vietnam. A man of color, the Government used him to repress colored people all over the globe, including the United States.

In the 19th Century, blacks who wanted equality had to put on a cavalry outfit and ride herd on Indians. In 1967, Russ was sent to Detroit to ride herd on blacks. It was the Detroit riots, which set in motion the studies leading to "Garden Plot", the plan which assigned the 82nd Airborne to Wounded Knee and which ultimately funneled Russ into the hands of a U.S. Marshall in the Boise airport. "Relax, we're not the FBI," said the Marshall, a black man.

Lena Redner arrived from Washington with her mother and See-Aam-Utza, Russ's 14-month-old daughter. Ken's father and other friends from the Pine Ridge Reservation arrived. They found lodging in a run-down tenement near the junction of I-5 and I-405. The Indians have no money. The heat and the phone go off every other day in the house.

"Ninety percent of the people I knew at Wounded Knee are dead, in prison, or fugitives," says Lena Redner as her mother fills our cups with swamp tea. Through the kitchen window, across a field of rubble, I see a white unmarked car pull up. Its occupants do not get out. In a flash, I am aware of the fear that hangs over this house. The 10-year-old son of Ida Stuntz wanders in, thin, morose, looking for something to eat. He lost his father last summer — killed by FBI.



Vernon Bellecourt sits like a mountain in his great bear coat, spooning up the tomato soup that is the fare of his followers. "These people," he says, pointing with his spoon, "these people are our future." My eyes follow his spoon as it traces an arc around the grimy kitchen, to See-Aam-Utza feeding at her mother's breast, to the fatherless son of Joe Stuntz, to the straggled-haired teenagers lounging in the doorways. And for a moment, it really seemed as if — in that decrepit house, on that gray afternoon in this white man's city, its freeways coiling around and hissing at the windows — the Sacred Tree was not yet dead.

WHAT THE FUTURE HOLDS FOR ME WILL BE DETERMINED BY THE FBI — ONLY MY CONTINUED STRUGGLE HAS MEANING

[This "short autobiography" is by Darelle Butler, on trial in Iowa for his life.]

I find it difficult to take time from my daily existence during my present incarceration to put down in writing a factual and accurate account of my past life.

For 31 years, I rambled around, seeking some source of direction, some knowledge that would enable me to see and understand the society and its citizens that I could not relate to. My lack of insight brought many unfortunate events in my life, causing undue hardships on my family.

Then in 1974, around February or March, I became exposed to the American Indian Movement. I had vaguely heard about "Alcatraz", the BIA occupation in D.C., and Wounded Knee. I did not understand these happenings, but I sympathized and supported the actions because it involved Indian people.

After the Wounded Knee occupation was ended, I felt a strange impulse to acquaint myself with what was taking place and seemingly growing among the Indian people. I began to see a little

the turning point of my life. I felt spiritual power that day that influenced my thoughts and actions that will last for the duration of my life. I became devoted to this religion and to helping the American Indian Movement that seeks to improve the lives of Indian people who are being oppressed and deprived of their birthright to live on the land of their ancestors in peace and harmony with all life and the land.

Too, I became devoted to learning the spiritual teachings of this religion, the Pipe Religion, that I had already accepted even before the first sweat ceremony. Two years have elapsed since that time. My religious teachings and learnings have been beneficial to me and, I pray, to native people, my relation.

My present incarceration in South Dakota has happened because of my sincere love and devotion to all my Indian relation. Their struggle to retain their heritage and customs, their birthright to their ancestral lands, is my struggle! Their needs, their wants, does not demand a change of United States Government laws — only that the United States Government honor the laws that are already written, the treaty

laws, laws signed by the United States representatives and ratified by the United States Congress.

Unfortunately for me, the beatings, the murders, the shootings, the stabbings, and the rapes against Indian People, especially members of the American Indian Movement and their supporters and sympathizers, influenced me to pick up a pistol one morning at 6:30 when I heard unusual movements outside of a house my wife and I were sleeping in. I looked out a window and saw several unfamiliar vehicles and men with an assortment of weapons moving about, surrounding the two houses. I appeared in the doorway of the house and demanded of the nearest stranger what was going on? Unfortunately, they turned out to be FBI agents who promptly arrested me for possessing a pistol.

What followed has been a nightmare for my wife and me. I received threats against my life, verbally, from the FBI. Called vulgar names. Been condemned because of my race as well as the rest of my race by the FBI. Been charged with five felonies in spite of the fact I did not commit a crime and was not sought for

any crime at the time of my arrest on September 5, 1975. My wife was arrested that same morning, released at the scene a few hours later, and re-arrested



in Los Angeles, California, extremely and cruelly interrogated by the FBI causing extreme mental anguish. Anna Mae Aquash was arrested at the scene the same morning of my arrest, and she too was subject to cruel and wanton questioning with threats against her life after she refused to cooperate with FBI agents. Five months later, her body was discovered, a bullet in her head. My wife fears for her life now as I, also, share her fear. We both fear my life is also in danger based on comments by FBI agents to her and to me during their questioning of us.

What the future holds for me will be determined by the FBI. I fully believe, at this writing, they will cause my death.

I'm charged with killing two FBI agents which I did not do.

MORE TRIALS—MORE POLITICAL PRISONERS

Since the occupation of Wounded Knee, AIM has been forced to turn all its energies and resources to court battles. AIM members have been jailed, harassed, beaten, shot, or killed — beginning with the death of Pedro Bissonette shortly after the occupation of Wounded Knee ended, and most recently, with the death of Anna Mae Aquash.

While millions of U.S. citizens have been raised to hold the FBI on a sacred pedestal, its guilt has been tarnished in recent months as Congressional hearings revealed what native people have long since known: the FBI has maintained an extensive and far-reaching secret-police system that has spied on and harassed hundreds and thousands of persons for over forty years. In addition to native people, targets have included black leaders, women's liberation activists, Socialist Workers Party members and even the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People [NAACP], which was spied on for 25 years even though agents failed to turn up a single illegal action.

A report released by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence April 28 provided the most comprehensive and detailed account of FBI misconduct yet disclosed. Included in FBI activities were disruptions such as the American Indian Movement has experienced: "unsavory and vicious tactics including anonymous attempts to break up marriages, disrupt meetings, ostracize persons from their professions, and provoke target groups into rivalries that might result in deaths."

Other intelligence activities of the U.S. include the U.S. Army which maintains files on 100,000 U.S. citizens, the Internal Revenue Service which computerized 465,000 names for general intelligence purposes, the Central Intelligence Agency [CIA] which involved more than 100 organizations including AIM in its Operation Chaos program and which opened illegally more than 250,000 letters to produce a computerized index of 1.5-million names.

Meanwhile, Leonard Crow Dog's supporters in New York were able to gather enough money to bail him out of Lewisburg Federal Penitentiary while his appeal is being prepared.

Carter Camp remains imprisoned on a three-year sentence. He has been transferred from Terre Haute Federal Penitentiary to the Medical Facility at Springfield, Missouri.

Other legal harassment had been experienced by John Trudell, national AIM chairman, when he was residing at Duck Valley Reservation in Nevada. Charges against him were dismissed in federal court, and then the State of Nevada tried to press charges. That case was dismissed without question by the Nevada Supreme Court. Still, Trudell was jailed, thousands of dollars were spent on obtaining his freedom, and valuable time and energy were lost.

The U.S. suffered further legal losses in April, when the 8th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals reversed the convictions of Mark Fleury, Colin Wesaw, Larry Johns and Reginald Dodge, Jr., on charges of conspiring to obstruct, impede, or interfere with law enforcement officials in their official duties at Wounded Knee.

The four-judge panel ruled that while it could be said that the men were en route to Wounded Knee to associate with other native people protesting governmental policies they considered unjust, it could not be inferred that "once at Wounded Knee, they would knowingly interfere with U.S. marshals and FBI agents in the lawful performance of their duties in that community."



The recent reversals lower the U.S. record of convictions of Wounded Knee offenses to fewer than a dozen of the 400 or more persons arrested. However, the U.S. does not necessarily feel badly about this, since its major strategy was not so much to win convictions as it was to tie up the American Indian Movement, its supporters, funds, energies, and time in the courtroom rather than to have it working for social change for native peoples.

Recently, the Ninth Court of Appeals ruled against Wounded Knee defendants on the treaty issue, but attorney John Thorne has filed a petition for a rehearing, pointing out that his clients are raising a simple and direct question "which was not answered by Judge Warren Urbom," who first heard the case, "nor has it been answered by the Court of Appeals."

The question Thorne wants answered is this: "When and how did the people constituting the Government of the United States acquire criminal jurisdiction over the people constituting the Government of the Sioux Nation for alleged criminal activity within the boundaries of the land reserved by the Sioux as their homeland under the 1868 Treaty?"

The undisputed evidence established that the U.S. did not acquire criminal jurisdiction by discovery, conquest, or agreement, the usual legal means of establishing jurisdiction.

Judge Urbom ruled against the validity of the Lakota sovereign rights, not so much for legal reason, but because that's the way other courts have always done. However, he described the history of the matter as "an ugly history" and said "white Americans may retch at the recollection of it."

Thorne, who argued the case with attorneys Vine Deloria, Jr., and Larry Leventhal, are asking for the reconsideration because, they say, if the court addresses the issue and answers the question, it will either have to say that the U.S. does not have criminal jurisdiction on the Lakota Territory, or that "might makes right" and the U.S. is just doing what it can get away with.

Edgar Bear Runner Convicted in Nebraska

Edgar Bear Runner was convicted in Rushville, Nebraska, for obstructing a police officer. While the trial was in progress in early June, Bear Runner and his attorney, Wade Eldridge, were shot at by goons and then arrested and jailed by BIA police.

Bear Runner was in 1975 District President of the Porcupine Community — and he also has been a staunch defender of his people's rights and well-being.

Eldridge said that he and his client had been working on the charge to the jury, which would take place the following morning. Then the attack came — the house was covered with bullet holes. The police were called — but instead of investigating the incident, they wanted to search the house. Eldridge told them they'd have to get a search warrant. Police left, and returned shortly with eight cars filled with 20 officers — SWAT men with their bullet-proof vests and automatic weapons. Eldridge was arrested, as was Bear Runner. About 5 a.m., they were released so they could get to Rushville for their trial for a March 1 incident.

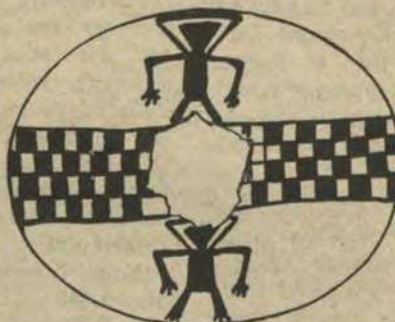
According to an affidavit filed by Bear Runner, he and three other men had left the Tiger Tavern in Gordon, Nebraska, a reservation border town. They were headed for home, but the car wouldn't start. They got a boost, started, and then the engine died. While the group tried to revive the car, two police officers came along and wanted to know their names. When Archie Two Eagles gave his name, police grabbed him and said a warrant was out for his arrest. He was hustled off while the other officer continued to check identifications. The men were told to open the car trunk, but they refused because the officers didn't have a search warrant.

At this point, Bear Runner said, the officer grabbed him and reached for his gun, and began clubbing Bear Runner with the pistol butt. The officer said, "I'm taking you in." Bear Runner said he was further beaten and slammed around.

As it turned out, there was no warrant for Two Eagles. The two officers involved resigned. — but it took a Rushville jury only a short time before finding him guilty. Sentence is still pending.

Continuing legal help and funds are urgently needed to counter the campaign against native activists and the American Indian Movement. These can be sent to:

Wounded Knee Legal
Defense/Offense Committee
POBox 2307
Rapid City, South Dakota 57701
telephone: (605) 348-5846



Herb Powless also caught the South Dakota railroad on March 8 when a federal jury in Rapid City convicted him on charges of interstate commerce of a firearm by a convicted felon, meaning that he had crossed a state line with a gun.

True, Powless had an old conviction for aggravated assault, but Wisconsin Governor Patrick Lucey had granted a full pardon to Powless in 1972 restoring his civil rights.

Powless had been tried on the charge in December, 1975. At that time, an additional charge of interstate transportation of explosives was dismissed for lack of evidence. And the firearms charge ended in a hung jury after 23 hours of deliberation.



— photo by Philip Michael Walker
Herb Powless

Although no new evidence was offered, the U.S. again brought Powless to trial in March. Although the U.S. prosecutor didn't offer the court that Powless had in fact transported firearms to South Dakota, the all-white jury was out less than 25 minutes before returning a guilty verdict. In addition, Powless faces state charges for virtually the same offenses. Federal sentencing has been deferred until after the state trial.

Powless is a national director of the American Indian Movement. He is also executive director of the American Indian Council on Alcoholism in Milwaukee, a program which he has directed since November, 1970. The AICA center is open 18 hours a day, 7 days a week, with nightly activities designed as a prevention program for native youth.

In 1971, Powless organized the Milwaukee AIM chapter and led one of the few successful land takeovers of U.S. property — the U.S. Coast Guard Station which continues in use by the Indian Community School. He has been active in his support of other causes, especially in the Great Lakes area.

Contributions and support are needed urgently for Powless' defense. Write:

Herb Powless Legal Defense Fund
2830 West Wisconsin Avenue
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53208



Joanne Ledieux, who had been held in U.S. prisons for months because she refused to testify before a U.S. grand jury, was released from Terminal Island Prison near Los Angeles in May after women's groups and others begato mount protests over the refusal of authorities to allow her to nurse her newborn son.

The release order came directly from Attorney-General Edward Levi in Washington, who apparently did not wish publicity drawn to Ledieux's imprisonment or the trials coming up for the FBI slayings.

Ledieux gave birth to an infant son, Tsali, at Harbor General Hospital in Torrance. She then won a temporary order from U.S. District Judge Warren Ferguson restraining prison authorities from separating her from her child pending a hearing over her right to nurse her child.

She said her son could be delivered to the prison each morning by the child's father, William Meyer, who would also pick him up every evening at the close of regular prison visiting hours. However, Warden Lee B. Jett said prison regulations prohibited this.

Her suit was filed by Jill Jakes, women's rights litigation attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union, who argued that the denial violates the woman's "fundamental right to nurture her child, and her constitutional protections, as a civil prisoner [rather than a criminal] against cruel and unusual punishment."

However, before the hearing could be held, Levi's order came.

Recently, support of native causes has been systematically organized and coordinated by the Native American Solidarity Committee [NASC], formed in 1975 for that purpose. There are 20 chapters in major U.S. cities working on legal defense, fundraising, publicity. "We support all the struggles of Native American people for self-determination, independence and sovereignty," is the NASC principle. NASC is not primarily a native organization, but is composed of other peoples who see the native struggle as part of the larger struggle for a better life for the peoples of North America.

Further information about NASC can be obtained from:

Native American Solidarity Committee
POBox 3426
St. Paul, Minnesota 55165

Russell Means Shot Again

American Indian Movement leaders Russell Means and John Thomas were shot and wounded early in the morning of May 5 on the Yankton Sioux Reservation. An AIM statement said the shootings fit the pattern recently revealed of how federal agencies provoke violence within a movement.

The shooting was the third brush Means has had with death in two years. In the summer of 1974, Means was attacked by Bureau of Indian Affairs police officer Howard John Fuller in Valentine, Nebraska. Fuller wielded a pool cue, and Means received severe head injuries and was in a coma for 22 hours. There was no investigation and no arrests.

Then on June 7, 1975, Means was shot by BIA police officer Pat Kelly in Cannon Ball, North Dakota. Means was charged with interfering with a federal officer, but the charge failed to hold up in court.

On July 28, Means was shot at from another car carrying three people while he was traveling near the Rosebud Reservation. The bullet grazed his head. Means charged that his assailant was BIA officer Howard Fuller. Again, there was no action taken.

In the current assault on Means, he and Thomas were on the Yankton Reservation at the invitation of a BIA official to discuss the upcoming International Indian Treaty Conference which will be held there in late June.

The two activists were asked to come to a residence the night of May 4 for a meeting. When they arrived, they found that Fuller was there. After a verbal confrontation, Fuller left. Witnesses say another argument took place, and two occupants, Mike Weston and Jim Weddell, pulled out weapons. They were among the Yankton Seven, a group of Lakota activists charged in last year's occupation of the Wagner pork plant to protest exploitation of native people and resources.

The two men were ordered outside, where they were forced to lie on the ground. There, Means was shot in the chest, and Thomas was hit in the face and neck.

Thomas charged that the shooting was intended as an intimidation tactic "to try and discredit the Treaty Council." He said the attack was "definitely a set-up" by the FBI, and that Weston and Weddell were only "tools".

Greg Zephier, acting coordinator for the Treaty Conference, said he had found Means lying on the steps of his father's home, and Thomas inside on the couch.

South Dakota Attorney General William Janklow used the assassination attempt as a vehicle to attack Means and has gone into court to revoke his bond on other charges, saying he had no business to be at Yankton. Janklow openly campaigned two years ago on the promise to put "all AIM members in jail or under it."

Weston and Weddell were arrested in Sioux City, Iowa, along with Francis Archambeau, Terry Provost, and a juvenile who were charged with being accessories-after-the-fact and aiding the escape.



— UPI photo
Russell Means . . . After Wounding

While FBI-incited violence within AIM has yet to be documented, FBI involvement in the Black Panther Party [BPP] is clearly in the open now. In late 1968, FBI-head J. Edgar Hoover ordered his agents to develop "imaginative and hard-hitting counter-intelligence measures aimed at crippling the BPP." Some police departments set up special "Panther Squads" whose sole purpose was to carry out the vendetta. More than 20 BPP members were shot down or jailed on frame-up charges in just one four-week period in the autumn of 1970.

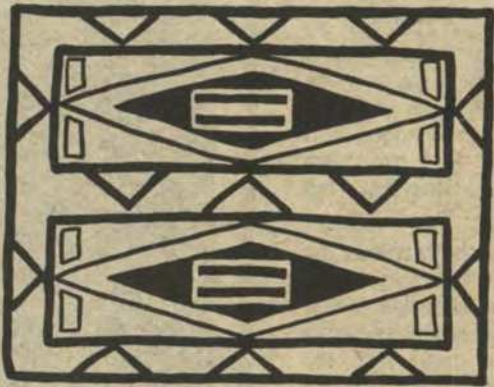
A U.S. Senate Committee report says that the claimed

purpose of the FBI COINTEL program was to prevent violence, some of the tactics "were clearly intended to foster violence, and many others could reasonably have been expected to cause violence." FBI agents did their best to provoke quarrels within the black community, a tactic which led to the murder of at least four members of the BPP.

One FBI memorandum boasted: "Shootings, beatings, and a high degree of unrest continues to prevail in the ghetto area of southeast San Diego. Although no specific counterintelligence action can be credited with contributing to this overall situation, it is felt that a substantial amount of the unrest is directly attributable to this [COINTEL] program."

Marshall's trial was typical of South Dakota. The all-white jury convicted him on the testimony of an Indian woman who admitted on the witness stand that she had been paid by the FBI to testify against Marshall. She contradicted her own testimony, and defense witnesses refuted her statements.

Marshall, who has no prior convictions, was offered a deal to plead guilty to a lesser charge with the chance of getting probation. He was sent to the South Dakota State Penitentiary the day after his sentencing, leaving at home two children April, 8, and Stevie, 4.



Both Marshall and his wife, Cleo, were active in the Oglala Sioux Civil Rights Organization. His support of AIM caused him much harassment: his home in Pine Ridge Village was shot up by goons; police broke into his home while he was away, leaving it in shambles; he was beaten while handcuffed. Finally, for the safety of his family, they moved to Allen, a community in the eastern part of the reservation.

The incident in which Montileaux was shot took place in a bar in Scenic, South Dakota, just off the reservation. Marshall, Means, and some other companions stopped in the bar to use the restroom, then they left. Later, Montileaux was found shot in the restroom. He died about a week later. Before he died, he cleared Marshall and Means in the shooting, and described his assailant as being about six feet tall, with bushy hair worn loose, wearing a green army jacket. Marshall is 5'8", with straight hair bound in a pony-tail, and he had worn a brown goose-down jacket.

Marshall's family and supporters are organizing a campaign to the Board of Pardon and Parole to gain his release. Similar efforts on behalf of others, such as Sarah Bad Heart Bull, have been successful. Letters supporting his release can be sent to:

Arthur Canary
Board of Pardon and Parole
POBox 911
Sioux Falls, South Dakota

Means and David Hill face charges still pending from the 1973 Custer Courthouse battle. The trial has been moved into Eastern Dakota at Vermillion, a university town. Means' charges include assault with a dangerous weapon, riot where arson was committed, one count of arson, and three counts of second degree arson. Hill is charged with three counts of conspiracy to commit arson, assault with a dangerous weapon, and riot where arson was committed.

Means tried to have the murder trial moved to Vermillion as well, but instead state judge Marshall Young set it for Pierre, a tiny white enclave at the state capital. As a result, his attorney withdrew the application for a change of venue, and the trial is scheduled for Rapid City.

Assistance in Means' voluminous legal defense costs are being raised at this address:

Russell Means Defense Fund
POBox 30116
St. Paul, Minnesota 55165
telephone: (612) 535-2232

Yankton Scene of Other Activity

Yankton has been politically active before and since the porkplant takeover, and law enforcement officials have been much in evidence.

On March 13 in Lake Andes, a town within the boundaries of the Yankton Reservation, seven native people were arrested for "conspiracy to kidnap" contrary to the laws of South Dakota. Charged were Lois Tiger, Evelyn Tiger, Ruth Tiger, Jean Tiger, Winona Weddell, Godwin Weston, and William Provost,

accused of forcing one Timothy Otte into a vehicle, taking him to an Indian housing area, and beating him.

Michael Weston's name had come up in this matter, too. The week before the alleged kidnapping, Otte had admitted breaking into a pickup the previous November and stealing a Citizen's Band radio and two rifles — he implicated Weston in the theft. Weston was held on \$5,000 bond, while Otte was released on his own recognizance. Those arrested said that while Otte had come with them — even at his own suggestion — he had met persons at a party in the Indian housing area who felt that he should have cleared Weston in the theft.

The seven were held on \$15,000 bond each, but on March 24, Lois Tiger and William Provost had charges against them dismissed. The others still face trial, however.



Michael Weston, 18

Although the arrests took place in the Yankton Housing Area on the reservation, the arresting officers included the Wagner, South Dakota chief of police, perhaps a South Dakota Highway Patrolman, and up to 18 local non-native persons known as the "Charles Mix County Civil Defense Volunteers", untrained part-time exponents of law and order armed with M-16 machine-guns and other heavy weaponry. Provost says he was marched from vehicle to vehicle after his arrest, with an M-16 pressed against his head, although there was no reason for this. The vigilante group said they were looking for Jim Weddell, who was wanted for escaping from jail where he was held on charges relating to the pork plant occupation.



James Weddell, 19

International Treaty Conference Scheduled

The First International Indian Treaty Council was organized on Standing Rock Reservation on June 8-16, 1974, at which time the "Declaration of Continuing Independence" document was adopted by the participants, who called "upon the world to support this struggle for our sovereign rights and our treaty rights."

The Second International Indian Treaty Council will be held at the village of Greenwood on the Yankton Reservation (South Dakota) from June 13-20. That event will be preceded for four days by the Sun Dance. Organizers promised tight security against alcohol or drugs. For further information, contact Greg Zephier or Dace Means at POBox 409, Wagner, South Dakota 57380, or telephone (605) 384-5530.



CROW DOG RELEASED FROM PRISON

[In late March, after weeks of effort to raise money to free Leonard Crow Dog from federal prison, one family came forward with \$25,000 cash.]

[That money was posted on March 10 to obtain Crow Dog's release while his appeal was going through the courts. However, it took two weeks of run-around before Crow Dog had his freedom.]

[When everything was cleared away, a delegation of friends came to Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, to greet the AIM spiritual leader and Lakota medicine man as he came from confinement. This is the account of Richard Erdoes of New York, a longtime friend of the Crow Dog family.]

We had to spend the whole day in the visiting hall before he was processed out. Even being merely visitors, we were depressed and oppressed by the heavy atmosphere of this maximum security prison. When the moment of release finally came, we were not allowed to wait for him at the prison gate, or to take a picture while he was walking through it.

Instead, we were told to wait "outside the Reservation limits." Yes, signboards marked the prison and its grounds as a "reservation." Crow Dog commented that he had always known that prisons and reservations were the same thing.

Outside the fence, Crow Dog's wife, Mary and their son, Pedro, were waiting. Mary had spread a blanket. On it she put Crow Dog's sacred things which he was not allowed to have with him in prison — his Sacred Pipe, his Eagle Wing, his Eagle-bone Whistle, his Medicine Bundle. A young Lakota friend from Eagle Butte was there with a drum singing an honoring song and the AIM song. It was good.

Crow Dog said the prison experience had left deep scars on him, physically and psychologically. He described the inhumane treatment and the harassment he had been subjected to. He had in his pocket an order to report to the barber shop. Had we come a day later, they would already have forcibly cut his hair, or placed him in disciplinary isolation.

Crow Dog says a white female doctor or nurse tried to force him to submit to rectal examinations. Someone had caused him to believe he had a brain tumor and would have to undergo surgery. He had been kept in solitary confinement for weeks in a cell so small he could not stand upright, with almost no light and no exercise. Crow Dog said this was punishment for having talked over the phone to a relative in his own language.

He spoke movingly of the friendship he had received from other inmates, and of the strength and unity of the black brothers inside. He spoke sadly of the many native inmates, often totally forgotten, helplessly at the mercy of the prison system.



He told of the experience of seeing a murdered inmate a few feet away, his throat slit from ear to ear, his head dangling by a thin thread of skin. Recently, an inmate was able to successfully petition for his release when he told of the frequent murders at Lewisburg. The going price to get someone killed is two cartons of cigarettes.

Crow Dog's release, of course, was only a temporary respite — he still had his appeal to go through. There was one crisis after another as supporters and attorneys tried to keep his freedom intact.

Crow Dog had several separate legal battles. He was appealing his conviction for allegedly participating in the ousting of three "postal inspectors" who wandered into the armed encampment at Wounded Knee during the 1973 siege. His lawyers were 100% certain he would win his appeal for a re-trial, because the evidence against him was so negligible and for other reasons, such as the misconduct of the prosecution.

However, within a month of Crow Dog's release, his appeal was denied. One of the first points the defense raised was the matter of 60 photographs which the prosecution refused to reveal. Crow Dog's attorneys believe these pictures would have established Crow Dog's innocence. However, the appeals court ruled that since the attorneys hadn't seen the photos, they couldn't know if the pictures would be helpful or not.

Another point raised is the fact that an FBI undercover agent had been smuggled into the defense team to make continuous reports on defense strategy. The appeals judges acknowledged this was true, but said it had not been established that this agent had reported on Crow Dog.

Also acknowledged was the fact that the prosecutor, R.D. Hurd, had suppressed evidence. The question was whether this happened intentionally, or as a result of negligence. The judges gave Hurd the benefit of the doubt, although Hurd had been strongly criticized by Judge Fred Nichols in the Means-Banks Wounded Knee trials when it had been established that evidence favorable to the defense had been withheld.

Most telling of all was the point that when the postal inspectors had emerged from Wounded Knee, they appeared before a grand jury which was preparing indictments. At this time, they did not even mention Crow Dog, and in fact, knew nothing of his existence nor could they have identified him. Yet 2½ years later, they suddenly remembered that he had given them a lecture on how his people had been abused.

After the appeal was denied, attorney Ken Tilsen made a petition for re-argument. This was denied three days after it was filed.

Shortly afterward, an order came from the court for Crow Dog to surrender himself for imprisonment on May 13, 1976, at Sioux Falls.

Through the help of the National Council of Churches, who had raised \$5,000 for Crow Dog's defense, another lawyer was obtained — Sanford Rosen — who was experienced in arguing cases before the U.S. Supreme Court. A stay of the surrender order was granted for 11 days, until May 24, so a petition could be filed.

Rosen's first impressive and well-documented brief was simply to ask the Supreme Court to allow Crow Dog to remain at liberty until the court had rendered a final decision. Justice Harry Blackmun didn't rule on the petition, but he did sign a further provisional order allowing Crow Dog to remain free until the court had decided on Rosen's petition.

In the meantime, Rosen is preparing the main case. In the fall, the Supreme Court will probably decide if it will even review the case. The U.S. Supreme Court isn't in the business of righting wrongs, necessarily — it tends to look for cases with a constitutional question that has not been solved before. In fact, the Supreme Court accepts only about two out of each hundred cases submitted to it.

Crow Dog can only wait and see the results of these legal complexities which are difficult enough even for the legal minded to understand. Crow Dog's own strengths are spiritual, not legal, but it is difficult to maintain spiritual force when a major crisis breaks each week, and with the threat of imprisonment constantly over his head.

We are learning a lot about this strange system of justice. We are getting letters



— photo by Richard Erdoes / AKWESASNE NOTES
Crow Dog two days after his release from prison, fifty pounds lighter

every week from Indian prisoners who want to support Crow Dog. It is heart-breaking — they need our help as much as Crow Dog. But if we go with their stories to our support groups, we get anxious moans: "Please — not another Indian case!"

This is said with some reason. To fight for the rights of just one man takes all the energy and time and skill of many devoted people. The Due Process Fund of the National Council of Churches is exhausted on Crow Dog's case alone — and yet the case has hardly begun. The Center for Constitutional Rights, which handles Crow Dog's second case which is not even discussed in this article, is broke. Bill Kunstler is constantly in the air like a benign whirling dervish, flying from one Indian case to another. We are immensely grateful for the help of Kunstler, of Dan Taylor, Ken Tilsen, and Sanford Rosen, often without compensation.

Which brings us back to the point of why do we bother? Why do Indians take part in these ponderous procedures which so seldom give them justice? Why dignify the railroading by your participation? Why not simply say, "Come and get me without the whole hoopla, without writing briefs the thickness of the New York telephone book, without tying up all this money, all this time, all this energy of so many people.

The answer, to me, is very simple: the alternative is being at once back inside the horror called Lewisburg Prison.

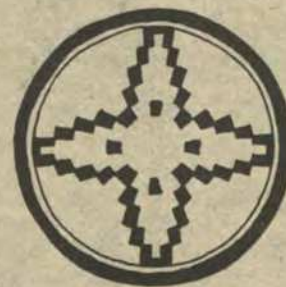
There is a further good reason. If the U.S. Supreme Court should review Crow Dog's case, it would immediately affect the fate of many other native prisoners. There is something very symbolic and significant in Crow Dog's coming before the Supreme Court — a hundred years ago, the first Crow Dog, his great grandfather, had his case heard before the Supreme Court. Maybe. Maybe. Maybe...

In this time of trouble and pain, Crow Dog has been sustained and uplifted by the support given by so many — 46 pennies sent by a reservation child, a simple letter of understanding by another prisoner in a faraway jail, a welfare mother's single dollar, a drawing

of an eagle flying, a ceremony held, a pipe smoked with Crow Dog in mind.

The Governing Board of the National Council of Churches supported Crow Dog. It adopted a resolution March 4, saying it was "particularly appalled at the severity with which Leonard Crow Dog has been pursued, prosecuted, imprisoned and victimized for what were at most minor offenses, suggesting that his real offense has been to lend spiritual force and dignity to the struggle for Indian rights. This religious leader has been persecuted and harassed by the U.S. Government beyond any deserving. In fact, he should be honored and respected rather than imprisoned."

The NCC urged the President of the United States to commute Crow Dog's sentence to time already served so that the appeals against his conviction could proceed without pressures.



We are getting letters from AKWESASNE NOTES readers all over the world — the French and German ones, I can translate. We hustled up Italian, Czech, and Dutch-speaking friends to help. Somewhere we have a letter in an undecipherable script — Urdu? Hindi? Amharic? We will find out someday.

If moral pressure can move this Government, Crow Dog and many others would be free, would remain free. It remains to be seen whether this Government, in this year of 1976, is still capable of responding to moral argument.

The enemy is strong. The fight goes on.

Changes at Pine Ridge

Changes are taking place at Pine Ridge under the new administration of Al Trimble, an Oglala whom Dick Wilson had removed from his job as BIA Superintendent. Wilson's despotic regime of four years — during which there were at least 78 violent deaths in a community of 12,000 persons — ended officially on April 5 when Trimble was inaugurated.

Following the official ceremonies in Pine Ridge, about 1,000 persons attended a celebration powwow in Wanblee. The following day, Trimble and the new council held their first meeting in Porcupine Community, the first time ever that a council had met there since that type of government was imposed in 1934. And it was the first time in years that the Oglala People had been welcomed at a council meeting. More than 300 persons attended.

The powerful executive committee have secretary Frank Starr and councilman Birgil Kills Straight to look after traditional interests. They have been active in the struggle for human rights at Pine Ridge since 1972 and before. Although Trimble had hoped for an all-new executive board, Treasurer Gerald One Feather and vice-chairman Johnson Holy Rock were re-elected to office, and automatically sit on the board.

Trimble has called for a full report on the audit of the tribal government. "How much has been spent, by what authority, and what is left?" he asked One Feather, who said he did not have the financial reports with him at the meeting.

Trimble gave examples of what he called misappropriation of tribal funds. He said that money for legal services had been well-overexpended, mostly to prosecute tribal members or to defend individuals accused of crimes against the Oglala People. Trimble announced the appointment of Mario Gonzales to handle the legal services in his new administration. Gonzales had been tribal judge at Rosebud when his court issued a judgment disbaring from tribal practice William Janklów, who is now South Dakota's attorney general.

Of \$310,000 provided to Oglalas for development of new business and jobs, Trimble said 24% had been appropriated to "two brothers", apparently a reference to Dick Wilson and his brother, Dr. Jim Wilson.

Before Wilson left office, he appointed the Health Board to life terms, but Trimble asked the council to revoke that move. He also asked for complete revision of tribal offices of the highway safety program which had been a haven for the goon squad, as well as offices of business development, credit boards, and the Housing Authority. He charged that the persons who had received the 80 new homes built on the reservation last year already had homes better than the majority of reservation people.

Each announcement was greeted with applause, cheers, and shouts of approval.

The greatest audience reaction came when Trimble requested that the Council rescind Resolution 72-55. Passed during the early part of Wilson's first term, the resolution banned the American Indian Movement from the reservation, outlawed its members and activities, and gave Wilson full authority to act and govern without consent of either the council or the executive

board. The resolution had been passed during the occupation of the BIA headquarters in Washington, and signalled the start of oppression on the reservation which led to the seige on Wounded Knee.

The motion to rescind the resolution was made by Jack Steele, councilman representing Wounded Knee, and it was seconded by Severt Young Bear.

Wilson, and two of his strongest supporters, John Hussman [whom Oglalas charge is a leading member of Wilson's goon squad] and Gerald "Jump" Big Crow, said they intended to run for the executive board, but none of them appeared at the council meetings.

Trimble announced that all supervisory positions were to be terminated, and opened for new applications. Anti-Wilson Oglalas got a chuckle from watching the unemployment office lines at Pine Ridge the following day as known goons like Tom Conroy, Lindy Trueblood, Big Crow and about 30 others lined up for benefits.

On the Friday following inauguration, the members of council from Pine Ridge, the Wilson and BIA stronghold, announced that they had met and were proceeding to obtain an injunction against Trimble to prevent his firing any tribal employee. They threatened impeachment proceedings against Trimble, but since Pine Ridge Village was the only district Trimble didn't carry in the January elections, that move seemed doomed before it began.

For three years now, the reservation has been polarized between the traditional and progressive Oglalas, the latter receiving tremendous support from the U.S. Government armed agents, courts and bureaucracy. Few on either side dared go anywhere unarmed or alone, especially at night. Bounties on the heads of traditional leaders were announced. Beatings became routine.

Many persons died. The lowest figure calculated for the three-year period following Wounded Knee is 68, the highest 300.

The situation and violence are not new — just more visible. Children of the traditional Oglalas are taught from birth that they are an occupied people, a sovereign nation that never joined the U.S., and that their nation's independence was affirmed in the Treaty of 1868.

As an occupied nation, the Oglalas have seen their land taken by another people. Unemployment is 70% for the whole reservation, and worse for the traditionals. They survive as a people despite efforts to destroy their religion, language, government, and way of life.

Only those who have assimilated to foreign ways have been able to manipulate the U.S. Government's colonialism and land policies to rise to limited power and wealth. The form of tribal government imposed by the U.S. in 1934 has been the key to power for the white ranchers and the assimilated Oglalas. Their families monopolize federally-funded tribal jobs and the primary resource: grazing lands.

The system has been kept together by armed police. During the last several years, the BIA police have been supplemented by hundreds of FBI agents, and Dick Wilson's tribal government used federal funds to maintain their own private police force which calls itself "the goons".

In 1973, traditionals filed nearly 150 civil rights violations complaints charging Wilson and the goons with beatings, threats, violence, death. The U.S. Government did not respond. Traditionals asked the U.S. to audit the tribal accounts, charging that there was corruption. When auditors did finally come in, they said the bookkeeping was so poor they could not tell if the system was corrupt or not.

Federal grand juries called to look into the complaints instead harassed the victims. When AIM members were being killed, Interior Secretary Thomas Kleppe falsely labelled the trouble as a conflict between two factions of the American Indian Movement. Recently, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights began an investigation of the FBI's role on the reservation.

The U.S. has always maintained that the Oglalas favored Wilson, and that AIM represented only a few dissidents and outsiders. The recent election of Trimble and the widespread support his administration is receiving clearly refutes this smoke-screen.

The Oglalas know that what the U.S. really fears is unity among them around the issue of recognition of their rights to sovereignty. They know they are regarded as a test case, and that if they are successful, there would be a growing storm of similar demands from other reservations where the U.S. would lose control of vast reserves of mineral wealth.

When the Interior Department commissioned a top-level study of the Pine Ridge situation, the report agreed that the key issue underlying the on-going crisis was recognition of the sovereignty acknowledged in the 1868 Treaty. But the White House forced omission of this portion of the report from the final published version.

Trimble has pledged a whole new approach to what he terms peace enforcement, and he mentioned that there would be a crackdown on bootleggers.

A major demand in the 1973 occupation of Wounded Knee was Wilson's removal from office. Impeachment proceedings against Wilson failed when he presided at his own hearings. The U.S. Civil Rights Commission had called for a new election after Wilson defeated Russell Means in 1974 after its investigators found large numbers of blatant illegalities. The BIA refused to call for new elections, however, saying it was up to the tribe, meaning Wilson himself.

At both his inaugural and at the first council meeting, Trimble called for an end to interference in tribal business by the BIA and FBI. He has pledged to "return the reservation to the Indians."

While the election of Trimble signifies change, troubles are not yet over for the Oglalas. Wilson has indicated he will keep politically active. Beside the goons, there are the reservation's white ranchers to contend with. Many of them are well-organized in such right-wing paramilitary groups as Posse Comitatus and the South Dakotans for Civil Liberties, and if their control over the reservation is threatened, they may react with visible force.

CORRECTION: The last issue of AKWESASNE NOTES reported on the death at Pine Ridge of Hobart Horse. Although the story was obtained from a half-dozen sources, it has turned out that Hobart is alive and well, for which we are happy to make this correction.

A MOTHER ASKS PRESIDENTIAL PARDON FOR A FUGITIVE SON AND OTHER CONVICTED NATIVE ACTIVISTS

Mr. President:

My name is Berdina Holder. I am from the Waco Band of Sovereign Wichita Nation. My age is 55 years old. I have been blessed with ten children and 16 grandchildren, all of whom I love and cherish as any mother or grandmother of any race.

I am writing to you in behalf of my son, Stan Holder, and the other Wounded Knee defendants. As Stan's mother, I feel great pride and honor that my son has dedicated his life's work to effect beneficial change for Indian people. Am I wrong to believe this is the same pride and honor White Americans feel for the founding fathers of the United States Government in this the Bicentennial Year?

I ask you, Mr. President, what do Indian People have to celebrate? We have been cheated and robbed out of all the most precious gifts the Creator blessed us with. Our Nations, our homelands, our religions, our languages, our traditions are now at the point of extinction. Lost to us now are our systems of self-government and true Indian self-determination. Do you realize that Indian people have given much and are giving more every day to the growth of this country you call yours?

Do you realize that Indian people — men, women and children across Indian Country — are threatened by open hostilities from your courts and law-enforcement agencies every day? I am a praying woman. I prayed lives would be better for the Indian people. I said nothing, as I watched the promises and agreements that were made to us being broken. I read of the treaties that were never honored. We number 800,000 people — we have the highest suicide rate, we have the highest alcoholism rate, some of our people live in conditions that make your ghettos look like a paradise. We are people that have no place to go and it makes my heart sad.

My son, Stan, spent two years in Viet Nam on the front line; he was in the Marine Corps for six years. He received an honorable discharge from the Corps for medical reasons. He was wounded near Da Nang while attempting to get ammunition for his company. He fought for the liberation of a people that wanted to be free and live in their own way. Yet when he came home, he realized his own people were being threatened, war was being waged upon them in the form of assimilation, discrimination, greed and outright theft and murder. He began to realize all the treaties that had been made with the Indian Nations had been broken; 371 treaties ratified by the United States Congress and each signed by a United States President — these all turned to words with no meaning because they were not honored. Our people stood up at Wounded Knee and were willing to give their lives to effect changes for Indian people. Does that make my son and others fugitives to be imprisoned for their actions?

What more can you want from me and my people? My ways are poor. I am a pitiful and humble woman in every way, The only wealth I have are my people, my family, my children and grandchildren. One of your FBI agents came to see me last spring. He told me I had two children that were at odds with the United States Government but by July of 1976 the Government would have it all straightened out. Can you tell me what he meant? I was afraid to ask him. Did he mean that the Government would honor all 371 treaties and that things would be good for my people again? Or did he mean that my children would be killed or imprisoned? This causes me great concern for the safety and well-being of my children. Some must have felt there wasn't enough pressure on my family, because the FBI harasses us, questioning us, even our small children, questioning our friends, searching their houses for my son.

All my people are asking for is freedom and justice. What is there for Indian people? Our first treaty was signed in 1778, not quite 200 years of empty and broken promises. Mr. President, you granted ex-President Nixon a full pardon for all the things he did pertaining to Watergate. He never came to trial. Amnesty was granted to the Viet Nam draft dodgers and deserters.

I am a proud Indian woman, but I am humbling myself before you and the leaders of your Government. I am asking that you, as President of the United States, grant my son, Stan Holder, full amnesty, and all full pardons and amnesty to all the defendants of Custer '73, Scottsbluff '73, and Wounded Knee '73.

I ask for full pardons for Carter Camp, Leonard Crow Dog, Russell Means, and full amnesty for Dennis Banks who is fighting extradition, because if he is sent back to the Dakotas, he will be killed. I saw my son in June, 1975, and this is what he thought would happen to him if he went to prison — HE WOULD BE KILLED.

These are some of our leaders who are doing the best they can to better the lives of the Indian people. Mr. President, give us something to celebrate this, your Bicentennial Year, by granting in a good way the amnesties and pardons I have asked for. I will continue to pray for my son and all Indian people who face these terrible things I have written about. I also ask my people when they go to the tipi meetings and other places to pray for the Indian Nations and the Creator to make a way for us.

Sincerely yours,

Berdina Holder
1204 S. 25th St.
Lawton, Oklahoma 73501

THE BRAVE-HEARTED WOMEN

"The lineal descent of the People of the Five Nations shall run in the female line. Women shall be considered progenitors of the Nation. They shall own the Land and the Soil. Men and Women shall follow the status of their Mothers."

This is said to us by Kaianerekowa, the Great Law of Peace given to the Iroquois. You are what your mother is. The ways in which you see the world and all things in it are through your mother's eyes. What you learn from the fathers comes later and is of a different sort. The chain of culture is the chain of women linking the past with the future.

The Iroquois People of the Longhouse know their Original Instructions given to them in the Beginning:

"We turn our attention now to the senior women, the Clan Mothers. Each nation assigns them certain duties. For the People of the Longhouse, the Clan Mothers and their sisters select the chiefs, and remove them from office when they fail the people. The Clan Mothers are the custodians of the Land, and always think of the Unborn Generations. They represent Life and the Earth. Clan Mothers! You gave us Life — continue now to place our feet on the right path."



Anna Mae Pictou Aquash was born and raised on the Micmac reserve called Shubenacadie in Nova Scotia. Her sister says that life in Shubenacadie is much better than that which the Western reserves in Canada and the U.S. experience: at Shubenacadie, *everyone* is on welfare. Since no one has a job excepting for pickup government jobs for a few months out of the year for a few people, having everyone signed up and receiving welfare is quite a social accomplishment for the bureaucracy.

Anna Mae had a talent for infusing humor into even the most grim of circumstances, and was considered a magician in turning government food commodities into very palatable meals. "She was a bright woman," said Nogeeshik, "spirit-minded and strong-willed. She wanted to make some sort of mark so that her children would not have to grow up the way she had been forced to live."

In time, living with her husband and two daughters, life on the reserve became too oppressive, too devoid of options. At Shubenacadie, an essential ingredient of life was in short supply: hope. Nogeeshik explains how Anna Mae felt: "There isn't much hope in looking towards picking in the potato fields and blueberry fields for a proud people. The way the world is made her suffer, because she was sensitive and had strong feelings."

She had dreams to be educated someday and to get a job working with children, maybe as a teacher. To be a teacher of children is at the same time both the most prosaic and the most awesome of aspirations: for someone from Shubenacadie to aspire to an Anglo-certified teacher's degree was like seeking the Nobel Prize.

There are traditional migratory patterns that trace the paths of native peoples from their home communities to one city, and then perhaps another city and another — and of course, back again. Boston is a funnel from Canada and much of the northeast for those who do not go directly to New York City and Brooklyn. Anna Mae went south to Boston with her family when life at Shubenacadie failed to bring answers to their needs. She got a job as a teacher's aide in a prekindergarten child-care center for black children in the Roxbury area.

Unlike so many native children in Canada and the United States, Anna Mae had not been removed from her family and shipped hundreds of miles away to a boarding school. She had escaped the aching loss of family and she had also avoided the indoctrination efforts of the boarding schools. Native children by the thousands in both countries serve time for as many as twelve years in federal schools geared to their gradual and eventual assimilation of the Anglo way of life, the ultimate solution to the "Indian Problem". Anna Mae did not have to choose between being a secretary, a domestic servant, a hospital attendant, or a cosmetologist — the traditional range of options for boarding

school girls. She did not view her future as a choice between being employed as a menial or living on a reservation where even those minimal skills are superfluous.

Instead, Anna Mae Pictou dropped out of school in the 9th grade, perhaps it having had something to do with changing from an all-Micmac reserve school to a mixed high school with Anglos.

She became involved with the Boston Indian Center and was sent by the center to Washington, D.C., at the time of the Trail of Broken Treaties when the Bureau of Indian Affairs headquarters was trashed. The white male-dominated media focussed their attention on who they determined were the leaders and organizers — that is, native males. Their cameras and tape recorders only grazed the faces of Martha Grass from Oklahoma or Ann Jock from Akwesasne, or the many strong women who like Anna Mae Pictou breathed life into an idea. They expressed themselves in this way:

"We are the Kwenonkwaonwe, the Indian women of this continent. From the female side of life, we extend our life support to our children of these territories in North America. We have much work to do. Our position is with our people and nothing can stand in our way to fulfill our job: to tell the people of this earth of our survival and to expose the genocide being done to Native American nations by the U.S. Government. We must do this for we care for our children."

Yet, credit for the love of all people for their children is sometimes not accorded as a universal sentiment nor is the commitment to the survival of one's children recognized by some people. For native peoples of North America, since the Pilgrims arrived, this has far too often meant the wholesale abduction of their children, to be raised by Anglos in their own image. Native peoples see no diminution of this fearsome practice.

Bernice Appleton, an officer of the Native American Children's Protective Council chartered in Michigan, tells us that "There is a shortage of white babies for adoption, so since not too many whites want black babies, they are coming for the next — and that's Indian. These agencies are going into Indian homes and telling them their homes are unfit because they have two children, or three children, sleeping in one bed. It isn't necessary for Indian children to have one bed apiece. I don't even think it's good for children to sleep apart. Our children learn sharing right from the start."

In Canada, children needing homes are removed from their communities and extended families. "Often relatives are available to care for the children, but they cannot get financial support because the children are related to them. However, the agencies have to pay the white foster parents for the children, often adding on additional subsidy because the children are Indian and are 'hard to manage'."

There is another way to prevent children from being raised as the lifeblood of future native nations — prevent them from being born. Health care in Canada for native peoples has done in the light of day what the USPHS/IHS has been doing covertly: coercive sterilization of native women. Sterilizations are routinely done at the time of birth of the sixth child, often without the consent or knowledge of the mother.



In the U.S., Dr. Connie Uri, a Choctaw/Cherokee woman physician, reported from the small Claremore Indian Hospital in Oklahoma that in the single month of July, 1974, surgery was performed on 48 native women, most of them in their twenties, making it impossible for them to have more children. It was reported that "at the same time this sterilization campaign was being carried out, Indian patients were turned away by the hospital on the grounds that there were not sufficient funds to care for them."

Anna Mae returned from her experience in the Washington portion of the Trail of Broken Treaties a

renewed woman, dedicated and determined to share in the hemispheric struggle of native peoples. "She had been in the struggle for a long time for her people," Nogeeshik said. He talked more of Anna Mae:

"Many Micmac people knew that they could go to her for help, a place to sleep, money, or whatever she had. She loved her children very much. It was a great sacrifice for her to be away from them — they were very close — but she wanted change to come to Indian People right away. This is why she fought and struggled so hard and if everyone did that maybe her children would not have to go through the same difficult things she was forced to."

"As an Indian person, she wanted her people to be recognized by other Indian People who had never heard of the Micmac. Her people had European contact long before Western tribes had. It is only through their diligence and tenacity that they have been able to survive to this day. She realized with the onslaught by whites that the Micmac were disappearing. Her people, the Micmacs, strongly maintain some of their cultural ties, and most important, their language. This is where her fight began."

"She wanted it known what a poor people the Micmac of Nova Scotia are, with little jobs and work, discriminated against through law enforcement, education, the reality of what cluster homes produces, the people's shift from productive areas to poor areas where drinking and oppression became an everyday thing. That is why she was so strong in the efforts of the movement. She has had difficulty in trying to make other people aware of this. What she was saying in her efforts was that the Micmacs faced these problems 200 years ago, and that she understood what the Western tribes were now faced with. In that way, she was years ahead of her times."

And so, before long, she went West, having returned her daughters to Shubenacadie to their other "mothers", Anna Mae's sisters. Many natural peoples consider a woman's sisters as mothers to her children. Such sharing of maternal duties allows for a wider range of activities on the part of any single "mother". But of course, this practice assumes that others can love and nurture a child as much as the woman who gave it birth.

The Second Battle of Wounded Knee found Anna Mae among the many young and old women who shared a common denominator: the loss of patience. Regina Brave put it into words:

WE'RE TIRED!

We're tired of seeing our men driven by despair, turn to alcohol, commit suicide, or end up in penal institutions.

We've reared our children only to see them brain-washed by an alien system with a genocidal policy which destroys our language, customs, and heritage.

We're tired of seeing our brothers and sons go off to war only to come home and be slain by United States Government forces.

After 483 years, we're tired — we're damn sick and tired.

So, we're standing up next to our men. We're standing up and taking up the battle here and now to protect our young so their unborn can know the freedom our grandparents knew.

The future of our young and unborn is buried in our past. We are today who will bring the rebirth of spiritualism, dignity, and sovereignty.

We are Native American Women!

Throughout the Siege of Wounded Knee 1973, women organized, planned, provided support and material, and in effect, gave continuity to the endeavor. They travelled back and forth through the battlelines back-packing in the food to sustain the Oglala and AIM defenders.

In Dakota tradition, they were called "Brave-Hearted Women". In the media, these women were ignored. The cameras hummed and clicked upon the faces of male AIM members. And after the Battle, these AIM men were arrested, neutralized, or eliminated by one means or another. The white male enforcement officers, blinded by their own sexism, failed to recognize the power of the women and that the heart and soul of the women would carry the movement forward.

With so many males no longer functional, the American Indian Movement more than ever became a woman-run organization. One older woman observed that "it is sad how few men are involved in the movement. It's hard for just us little old ladies with our pop bottles [to sustain it]." The AIM offices were run

by women as they had at the start. One said, "We are here because there is work to do."

The Wounded Knee aftermath continues to the present time like devastating seismic shocks bringing repercussions of violence and death. In a seige in July, 1975, at Oglala on the Pine Ridge Reservation, one native man and two Federal Bureau of Investigation agents were killed. A full-fledged military operation was launched which left Pine Ridge a living hell while some 150 FBI agents ransacked homes and ran search parties through fields and woods.

As of April, 1976, 35 deaths have occurred in this bleak poverty-stricken corner of South Dakota since Wounded Knee. The Government-supported political faction — the original cause of the Second Wounded Knee — has acted out its burning hostility against AIM and the traditional Oglala people who support it with an unrelenting series of beatings, shootings, car "accidents" and other destruction.

Dino Butler, now awaiting trial on the charge of first-degree murder of one of the FBI agents, tells another chapter in Anna Mae's life:

"Anna Mae Aquash was arrested at Rosebud Indian Reservation, South Dakota, on September 5, 1975. 100 to 150 agents invaded Crow Dog's Paradise and Al Running's residence simultaneously. The FBI agents identified her immediately as Anna Mae Aquash and though there was no warrant for her arrest, they handcuffed her and placed her under arrest. She was transported to Pierre [S.D.] immediately where she underwent intensive interrogation for six or seven hours, being questioned about the June 26, 1975, Oglala shootout between Native Americans and foreign Americans. She could not tell them anything because she was in Council Bluffs, Iowa, that day. The FBI agents made her the same offer they made me that day in Pierre after I too was arrested and transported from Al Running's home — 'cooperate and live; don't cooperate — die.'"

Anna Mae described her encounter with the FBI agents. "While I was standing there with a group of women, waiting, I was being verbally harassed by some of the agents. They were implying that they had been looking for me for a long time, and that they were very pleased that they finally found me."

Now that essentially all the media-prominent male AIM members and supporters were effectively neutralized — in hiding, in jail, in courtrooms or dead — the mid-70s was seeing a new pattern in battlefield sexism, the targeting of women by enforcement officers and vigilantes.



A foreshadowing of this occurred in the Northwest where Native People have struggled to preserve their traditional fishing rights. "In Washington State," one of the embattled survivors explained, "women have had to stand in [the men's] place because we are supporting them and supporting our unborn. There have been issues like fishing rights where our men were put in jail and all that was left was women to go out and fish. Yet the women were still treated the same, with the same harassment from the police, being beat up and going to jail, even women with children." Nor was death a stranger to the women along the banks of those rivers, sudden violent death.

In Wagner, Sioux Falls, Custer, Gordon, Rapid City, and of course, Pine Ridge, greater and greater pressure

came down upon women as a new point of attack. Gladys Bissonette observed that "every time women gathered to protest or demonstrate [peaceably] they always aim machine guns at us women and children."



— Camilla Smith/VOICES FROM WOUNDED KNEE photo
The marriage of Anna Mae and Nogeeshik during the occupation of Wounded Knee is blessed through Wallace Black Elk (left).

But with the work of the women, AIM did not die. Nor did the greater movement for natural rights of which AIM has always been but a part. As the Cheyenne people say:

*A nation is not conquered
Until the hearts of its women
Are on the ground.
Then it is done, no matter
How brave its warriors
Nor how strong its weapons.*

The women patriots who bore a heavy share of the task of physical and spiritual survival of their people through all the years would not now surrender. The list of native women who have been harassed, jailed, beaten, stabbed and shot grows long in this new campaign.

On February 24, 1976, the body of a young woman was found where it had lain for many days and nights along the highway north of Wanblee on the Pine Ridge Reservation. The coroner contracted by the BIA declared that death was caused by exposure, that is, natural causes.

FBI agents severed the hands from the body. They said they had to send them to the Washington office for identification. A week later, the body was buried in an unmarked grave at the Holy Rosary Mission. By that time, however, the identity of the young woman was known and communicated to family and then to friends. They insisted on an exhumation and a second autopsy. This time, the independent autopsy read

differently, the horror of its statement blotting through its precise language:

"On the posterior neck, 4 cm. above the base of the occiput and 5 cm. to the right of the midline is a 4 mm. perforation of the skin with a 2 mm. rim of abrasion surrounded by a 1.5 x 2.2 cm. area of blackish discoloration. Surrounding this is an area of reddish discoloration measuring 5x5 cm. This area is grossly compatible with a gunshot entrance wound. . . Removed [from the brain] is a metallic pellet dark grey in color grossly consistent with lead."

March 14, 1976, dawned windy, flinging snow upon those who had come to bury Anna Mae Pictou Aquash. "Creation was unhappy," one woman said.

Some women had driven from Pine Ridge the night before — a very dangerous act — "to do what needed to be done." Young women dug the grave. A ceremonial tipi was set up. Anna Mae's naked body was removed from the morgue's body bag. Her severed hands — from which the finger tips had also been severed — were returned to her. The women clothed her in a ribbon shirt and jeans with a jean jacket emblazoned with the AIM crest and an inverted American flag on the sleeve. Beaded moccasins were placed on her feet. A woman seven months pregnant gathered sage and cedar to be burned in the tipi. Young AIM men were the pallbearers: they laid her on pine boughs while the religious leader spoke the sacred words and performed the ancient duties. People brought presents for Anna Mae to take with her to the Spirit World. They also brought presents for her two sisters to carry back to Nova Scotia with them to give to her orphaned daughters.

The executioners of Anna Mae did not snuff out a meddlesome woman. They exalted a Brave Hearted Woman for all time.

The traditional leaders of Oglala released the following statement about her death before the second autopsy was performed:

"Anna Mae worked hard serving her Indian people and assisted in our efforts to shed the shackles of Government paternalism. She is with us. In her blood in Oglala. We consider her a friend. So therefore we are concerned because we feel that her involvement as our ally probably brought her death. . . We want to know the truth about Anna Mae's death and the possibility of the Government's involvement in it. Anna Mae Pictou was respected and loved by the people of Oglala. We mourn her, and we urge all law-abiding citizens to demand the real truth about her death."

The Brave-Hearted Women who remain to face the dangers of the Indian world have sadly been given a martyr, Anna Mae of Shubenacadie, Boston, Washington, St. Paul, Wounded Knee, Los Angeles, Oregon, and finally, a frozen grave site on a ridge in Oglala.

Among the Iroquois, it is the women who decide when the people will go to war, because when the war is done, it is the women who weep. Will the Brave-Hearted Women decide that, with Anna Mae's death, the war is over? Or will they decide with Lorelei Means who declares, "Hell, we're struggling for our life. We're struggling to survive as a people."

Anna Mae Pictou Aquash faces the sun's first light with the white, black, red and yellow streamers flapping overhead on poles placed in the Four Sacred Directions cornering her grave.

The Brave-Hearted Women have decided there will be war.

— Shirley Hill Witt

[Dr. Witt, an Akwesasne Mohawk, is regional director of the United States Commission on Civil Rights in Denver, and we are grateful to her for this article.]

ANNA MAE LIVED AND DIED FOR ALL OF US — WILL WE FORGET HER? WILL HER DEATH BE FOR NOTHING?

In its newsletter, the Boston Indian Council told of Anna Mae's burial, and her life with them in Boston:

"There was the sadness and mourning for a lost friend. There was the sense of pride and honor for a woman who had given her life for the sake of her people. And there was anger — an anger of not knowing why she had to die.



"Pine Ridge is a long way from Shubenacadie. But these two reservations serve as bookends for Anna Mae's life. She was different. She was special. At 25, Anna Mae began attending meetings to help organize an Indian Community Center. People who remember those times, the single room at 150 Tremont Street with its folding chairs and bad coffee, can still hear Anna Mae's voice. She spoke of Indian rights,

of pride, and self determination. Poverty, alcoholism, unemployment, despair — these were the enemies she saw. And through her courage, she helped to give birth to an organization dedicated to combating these problems — the Boston Indian Council. It was not an easy birth. There were many years of growing pains before the BIC was to be able to stand on its own, but without women like Anna Mae, it would never have been possible.

"And yet the streets of Boston were too narrow to hold her. Within two years, Anna Mae was carrying the same message of Indian pride across the nation. She became a member of the American Indian Movement. From that moment, her life would read like the newspaper headlines which followed her: the occupation of the BIA in Washington, the seige of Wounded Knee in South Dakota, the takeover of the Alexian Brothers Monastery in Wisconsin. Along



Anna Mae Aquash 1945-1976 — Oregon Times

with men like Russell Means, Dennis Banks, and Clyde Bellecourt, Anna Mae

helped to bring the attention of the whole world to the Indian people of this nation. It was a life filled with the glare of cameras, but also with the emptiness of long highways.

Anna Mae travelled. She organized. She struggled against racism, intimidation, and hatred. She followed her vision, and called on other Indian people to do the same. Whatever opinion people had toward her work, one thing was sure: Anna Mae Pictou was a woman of conviction. . .

Anna Mae lived and died for all of us. Now we are entrusted with her vision.

She is no longer here to carry on the work she did so well. But we are.

Anna Mae was a woman of courage, of dignity, and of pride. Will we forget her? Will we allow her death to be for nothing?

There is a lonely grave [at Oglala] that gives us our answer.

F.B.I. 'RAILROADS' SEMINOLES

Seminole, Oklahoma

A group of four traditional Seminole activists are in prison now for long sentences. None had a previous record, and all claimed their arrests and trial was a set-up by the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation.

When Oklahoma became a state, the Indian Territory vanished, and so did most of the reservations.

In 1898, an agreement was made between the Seminoles and the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad leasing Seminole land for right-of-way at a cost of \$50 per mile for construction, and \$15 per mile per year plus 5% interest thereafter. The Seminoles say they have never been paid by the railroad.

But when Seminoles called the breach to the attention of both the Railroad and the U.S. Government, instead of a settlement, there were arrests.



Johnson Warledo, 45, and Jack Warledo, 47, were tried and each sentenced to ten years imprisonment in U.S. District Court. Thomas Ahaise, 28, and Gary Larney, 29, were sentenced to five years in prison. All men were charged with conspiracy and violations of the U.S. Trainwreck Statute and Firearms Act.

The men charge they were totally set-up and framed. They say that in their negotiations with Santa Fe Railway officials, a meeting was scheduled, supposedly to meet with more officials. As it turned out, the officials were FBI agents, together with John Shupe, a Santa Fe executive. The men say that Shupe told them that if they would give him a strong letter showing they were serious, his colleagues would be more likely to approve a settlement.

In fact, Shupe had a letter all ready, and he suggested that Tom Ahaise sit down and copy it. The entrapment worked — using the letter as evidence, the men were arrested in four very heavy FBI raids, convicted, and imprisoned. This is the Treaty People's account.

The letter which Ahaise copied demands \$217,580 from railroad officials by December 12, and promised that no "violence" would occur on the Santa Fe if the money was paid.

Over 40 federal, county, and city officers were involved in the raids on Treaty People's headquarters in Seminole, and on three homes in the Strother Community. In addition to the four imprisoned leaders, Ryder Larney, 60, was arrested, and Meredith Quinn of South Dakota is being sought by federal authorities.



— Worker's World photo by Mary P.
Meredith Quinn at a YAWF Rally, 1974

Just before the arrests, there had been a series of violent events. Kenneth Whittaker, FBI special-agent-in-charge, said a Santa Fe freight train struck a barricade blocking the tracks near Noble, Oklahoma, and a fire was set to a railway bridge east of Tecumseh. Two shotgun blasts blew out the window of a motel room occupied by Eugene Cook, an auditor from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, who was conducting the annual audit on the Seminole Nation's tribal council books. Cook was not hurt.

"We don't want any violence," Johnson Warledo said. "This bridge burning and these other acts of violence are being done by somebody who is trying to pin it on us. Trying to make the Treaty People look bad."

The raid was a set-up too. Everyone in town knew about it except for the Seminoles. Supposedly, word

had come from the Santa Fe that it wanted to negotiate some sort of settlement on the demands. At about 12:30, a man who identified himself as a Santa Fe official appeared at the Seminole Treaty People office and asked, "Do you have your people here?"

The leaders of the group said they did, and the man told them, "Okay — fine. I want to go back and talk to my vice president." And he left.

A few newsmen had gathered in the cramped office with the five headsmen when the squad of law enforcement officials swooped down on the office:



FBI Indian Campaign 1976 Souvenir Photo: This is part of the FBI SWAT team dressed in work clothes: fatigues, bullet-proof vests, and with special weapons. FBI Agent Jim Elroy of Shawnee (extreme left) was in charge of the Seminole case.

"Everybody up against the wall!" The building was surrounded.

Fourteen stores in the downtown central business district of Seminole, near the Treaty People's office, closed down for an hour between noon and 1 p.m. A Seminole city police official said the store owners had been asked to shut down "for their own protection."

The military-like raids were conducted by FBI agents wearing army fatigues, bullet-proof vests, and carrying automatic weapons. After the raids, members of the Treaty People marched in downtown Seminole in protest, calling for the freedom of their leaders.

There were no instances of violence — although one bearded white man, wearing an upside-down American flag patch, who marched seemingly in support of the protest group, threatened two newspaper photographers who snapped his picture. Later, it turned out that he is believed to be an undercover agent.

Ted Underwood, a spokesman for the Treaty People, told reporters that his group had committed no crimes, and does not desire violence. He said they had pursued the matter through strictly legal treaties, and that the organization at no time has condoned violence.

However, someone had worked hard to stir up the idea of violence in the minds of local people. Reports were circulated that Indians were going to occupy the Rock Island Line depot in Seminole, and newspapers, radio, and television had been alerted — but nothing happened. The Santa Fe Railway obliged by cancelling a freight train.

The Seminole establishment denounced the actions of the Treaty People, saying they had misrepresented themselves. Besides, elected chief Edwin Tanyan said, the Seminoles had already filed a claim against the railroad. The matter had been pending for some twenty years. Courts have ruled that the Seminoles are entitled to compensation, but no amount has been set. If compensation is paid, it will be the U.S. and not the railways that will pay, Tanyan said.

"We are law-abiding citizens," Tanyan said.

The Shadow of Meredith Quinn

For some time, the Treaty People had operated under the legal advice of Meredith Quinn. Quinn has been around the Indian movement for years. He has been at Frank's Landing involved in fishing rights, in the mission takeovers in Southern California, with Richard Oakes on Alcatraz, with a group of Senecas in the east,

appearing suddenly at Wounded Knee and taking out a delegation to meet with the UN.

There are those who swear by Quinn's efforts — and those who swear at him. At Seminole, after the arrests, no one is quite sure what to think. Bill Wantland, an attorney for the Seminole Nation tribal council, says "Quinn has deliberately stirred up the Indian people, causing trouble for his own personal gain." Wantland says Quinn is responsible for the whole affair, and he promised to "see that Quinn is brought to justice and that he is punished to the full extent of the law. I feel he is a traitor to the Indian people, and that he has sold

the Indians down the river. We feel that Meredith Quinn is primarily responsible for the entire situation."

The Perfect Prosecution

The federal jury deliberated only 85 minutes before convicting five of the six defendants, including Quinn. Only Ryder Larney was found innocent of all three charges against him as the four-day trial closed in Muskogee.

During the trial, the prosecution established that Muskogee police found a semi-automatic AR15 rifle in his car in January and the weapon was entered into evidence. Strangely, however, Ahaise was never charged with possession of the gun, and he asserts that it was planted in the car to make him look violent.

In closing argument, defense attorney Ernest Anthis indicated that the defendants may have been "Watergated". However, assistant U.S. Attorney Bob McDonald called this an act of "desperation" that amounts to admitting how damaging the U.S. case is."

None of those convicted had any prior criminal records, and defense attorneys expressed surprise at the ten-year sentences. Appeals are being filed against both convictions and sentences.

All evidence was circumstantial. The only concrete evidence was that orange rags were found both in an alley near the Treaty People office and at the site of the track burning. Those "rags" were actually from a t-shirt which was neatly torn in half.

All defendants were released without bond to await sentencing. Quinn did not show up, however. Later, he was arrested in Buffalo, New York, in April, and returned to Oklahoma for sentencing. Also arrested with him was Marlene Kennedy, a Seneca who was wanted for trial for firing shots at a policeman in 1975 when police were escorting a power company crew that was trying to disconnect her electricity in a dispute involving the sovereignty of the Seneca Nation.

Seminole Treaty People have disowned Quinn, saying he had twice left Seminoles "holding the bag".

Letters of encouragement can be sent to:
Jack Warledo 39678
POBox 33
Terre Haute, Indiana 47808
and
Tom Ahaise
Box PMB 23073 B-1
Texarkana, Texas 75501

GANIENKEH, AND NOW WABANAKI

Ganienkeh — Two years ago, a group of Mohawks decided to move their families to an abandoned girl's camp in the Adirondack Mountains near Old Forge, New York. There, they said, they could live the traditional life on land that was part of a large Mohawk area illegally usurped by New York State.

On May 9, a group in opposition to Ganienkeh staged a protest demonstration on the roadway near the settlement. It was an intriguing sight — a group of white people demonstrating against the Indians. The event was quiet, as about 173 persons disembarked from busses and cars, walked a distance up the road, and then got in their cars and drove off.

Another group of people came to form a counter-demonstration and to show their support of Ganienkeh. A Ganienkeh newsletter noted the two groups were very different. After the marchers had passed, the Ganienkeh people and their outside supporters had a get-together in a nearby horse corral. "The meeting in the corral showed the rapport which has been established between the native American people of Ganienkeh and the white people who are supporting the Indians' fight for human rights. It's a case of understanding each other's problems and working together to find solutions. The people marching in the protest demonstration either do not understand the problems, or do not want to understand. There are bigots in all races," the newsletter said.

State Senator James H. Donovan and Assemblyman William Sears led the march. Donovan called the Ganienkeh residents "renegades." "If we don't put an end to this outrageous occupation," he told reporters in a statement designed to be more inflammatory than accurate, "then the property of every person in the state is in jeopardy."



Madas... a grandmother rebuilding her nation at Katahdin

— Jack Aley/
Maine Times photo

Recently, there has been some talk about moving the settlement to a more suitable location. Kakwirakeren said the Ganienkeh People need "a suitable area of land where we can do some farming, where we can raise some animals, and raise our children and grandchildren in the atmosphere that we've begun here."

He said that Ganienkeh was not such an area, partly because of the climate, and partly because "there's been friction already, and the friction doesn't seem to want to go away."

However, even if the settlement moved, this did not mean Ganienkeh would abandon its claim to the Mass Lake land. "If a man owned an area of land and his dwelling was located in a certain part of it, he should have full right to move his dwelling to another part of his domain," Karoniaktajeh, another spokesman explained.

The Mohawk Nation has a claim on a large area of the Adirondacks and east into Vermont, much of which is unoccupied and unused land.

Kakwirakeren said the people of Ganienkeh have proved in the past two years that "we can stand the way of life here." Winters in the area are very bitter.



Ganienkeh Residents at the Gatehouse

Negotiations with the State of New York regarding the settlement were moving along well, but then the state's negotiator, Ogden Reid, commissioner of the Department of Environment and Conservation, was replaced in that office, and now talks are beginning anew.

One point which had been settled was that any final agreement would be written in both English and Mohawk — and if there was a dispute, it would be the Mohawk version that would prevail. Any agreement would have to be ratified by the Grand Council of the Iroquois Confederacy.

Speakers from Ganienkeh can be arranged by writing Ganienkeh Indian Project, POBox 208, Ganienkeh, via Eagle Bay, New York 13331 or telephone (315) 357-9721.

A New Settlement in Maine

On April 21, Penobscot and Passamaquoddy traditional people of the Abenaki Confederacy ended an encampment on the Abol Campground when tribal officials agreed to help them acquire the necessary land for a permanent settlement.

About 25 persons were in the state 200,000-acre wilderness preserve. They said they had a right to be there, and that the park's Mt. Katahdin has long been a source of spiritual renewal. A spokesman said they expected to clear land and build homes "away from white society."

A court case is pending dealing with Wabanaki Confederacy land claims. A preliminary legal battle was won when a U.S. District Court agreed to hear the case.

Although state officials at first were calm about the encampment, after a week they began to talk of eviction by force. Finally, the traditional people agreed to leave to await the selection of a permanent site.

"We've been very kind, we've been very fair, we've been very patient," a spokesman said for Maine Governor James Longley. "But this is going to be a state operated under the laws of the state of Maine, and no individual is going to take the law into their own hands." The governor would give full support to

law enforcement agencies if they are needed, the spokesman said.

"I hope the Indians will leave peacefully and as good citizens of Maine," the Governor said.

The *Bangor Daily News* came out editorially in favor of the encampment. "Why not let the Indians stay in the park?" it asked. Change the laws, if necessary, it said, and allow Maine to be "the first state to at least try an alternate approach to a perpetual 20th Century social problem."

Twelve native persons who tried to join the group in the park were charged with illegal entry. White citizens of nearby Millinocket were generally approving of the settlement. Peter Cyr said as long as out-of-state people were allowed to camp in the park, he could see nothing wrong with Indians staying there. As long as they're peaceful, Carline Brooker said. John Gilman said as far as he was concerned, the park belonged to the Indians. There were only a few who were in dissent.

Why the Traditionals Went to Katahdin

The Penobscot Nation was one of the first in North America to take the brunt of European invasion from the East — and that invasion is now quite thorough.

The first sign of white culture at the Indian Island Reservation near Old Town, Maine, is the bridge connecting the town and the island. Across the bridge are roads torn up with a federally-funded sewer project. White men are driving huge machines.

At the far end of the island, at the end of the main road, is an enormous and non-descript steel building built with white money as a "municipal center." The Penobscot housing authority, another white inspiration, is located there. Some Penobscots sarcastically refer to the place as a "dream house" and call it an architectural insult. There is also a white policeman on the island.

The majority of the Penobscots long ago abandoned their spiritual beliefs for Catholicism, and only about 50 persons still can speak their language. Recent years have witnessed an increasing amount of intermarriage, white with Indian, and the subsequent submission of the Indian to his or her partner's ways.

The reservation council has a 10 p.m. curfew on drum beating.

So it was for reasons such as these that about ten Penobscots and about twenty like-minded Passamaquoddy people decided they had enough. They went to Katahdin. It was not the first time in their history this had been necessary. Peter Dana Point, a Passamaquoddy reservation at Princeton, Maine, was founded in the middle 1800s by traditional people who no longer felt comfortable living in the Pleasant Point reservation near Eastport.

Among them was Madas, an active 74-year-old grandmother. "All sorts of things are going on," she said of Indian Island. "A few people are making a lot of money. We don't want the federal government in here. We are a spiritual people." Madas says she was baptized Catholic, but about ten years ago, she accepted the natural spiritual ways.

Although there are more than 100 islands which the Penobscots own in the river upstream from Indian Island, the traditionals chose not to go there because the river is polluted.

And so it was to Katahdin, where the rivers are clean, and where you can use your drum after 10 p.m.

[Thanks to Jack Aley of the Maine Times.]

"FORTUNATELY THERE ARE STILL PROUD AND STRONG INDIANS AROUND WHO WILL NOT BE VICTIMIZED."

[This statement was written by Karoniaktajeh, a prime mover in the Ganienkeh Settlement in the Adirondacks.]

When we moved here, our policy was to speak to the general public, outline our project, our hopes and rights. We realize that the people of the general public wield a certain power. They have been known to break governments, leaders of governments, and even get laws changed. We have thus informed the public at every opportunity. We have worked to get the approval of the general public to the idea of justice for native Americans. We pointed out that every one in the world has been guaranteed human rights, and one of these is the right to his nationality, which also

means the right for his nation to exist and to an area of land for his territory. The response to our appeal has been gratifying. Many support groups have been formed.

This is the main feature of the Ganienkeh Indian Project — Indians working for the betterment of their life conditions, and in the process, help other Indians in dire need of aid, wherever they may be. Our solution is to gain enough of our land back so we can get the Ganienkeh Indian Project into full operation, to grow more than enough food, trade the surplus, and take care of our afflicted Indian brothers and sisters. After much study of the subject, we have concluded that the solution to the problems of Indians lay in establishing cooperative farm communities. It

must be done by the Indians themselves. Governments always urge us to get out there and make it — do things for ourselves. This we have done, but obstacles have been thrown in our way by a racist minority.



A forged letter was circulated to make it seem as though we had ordered 20 "sophisticated rifles" and 20,000 rounds of ammunition. Rumors circulated we had a guerrilla training camp here. We were accused of making a mess by showing pictures of dumps which were here when we came to the scene. They scream about the dried-up trees we cut on our land for firewood, ignoring the huge truck loads of our timber

passing by from loggers. They say we scared the tourists away, yet the area reports their best tourist season ever.

They say we should settle through the Indian Claims Commission. This commission provides only money, and not land. The land shall last, but the money only lasts a little while. After the Indian Claims Commission gets through with the Indians, they'll have no land, no hope, no future.

Since only completely destroyed people would accept such a shameful treatment, the dominant society must have decided that Indians are at their lowest condition and completely softened up.

Fortunately, there are still proud and strong Indians around who will not be victimized.

The Art Of Stealing A Nation

Standing Rock, Teton Nation

In 1851, and again in 1868 at Fort Laramie, the Teton Nation had firmly established boundaries and its relationship to the United States of America, one nation to another, was clearly specified. That treaty became U.S. law when it was ratified by the U.S. Senate and signed by the U.S. President. A lot of things have changed over the last 108 years.

Two primary elements have been lost: sovereignty and land.

The Teton Sioux started on the disastrous trail in 1805 when it signed its first treaty with the U.S., a treaty of peace and friendship. Other treaties were signed in 1815 and 1825, as the U.S. sought to enlist native aid in its struggles with other European nations. While the Treaty of 1868 reaffirmed sovereignty, it also ceded large parts of Sioux national territory to the U.S., and granted concessions which fostered an increased relationship between the two nations.

Non-Indian activity in Teton Country caused the natural economy to deteriorate, resulting in an increased reliance on trade goods and commodities from the Europeans. As the U.S. gained a foothold, "friends of the Indians" conspired to change the "savages" from "barbarian" status to a "civilized" status — the prime targets would be spirituality and traditional political systems.

The lobbying of the "friends of the Indians" caused the U.S. to pass new legislation, principally the Dawes Act of 1887 and the Great Sioux Agreement of 1889, which, according to tribal chairman Pat McLaughlin, "virtually tore apart the already fragile world of the Great Sioux Nation."

The 1889 Agreement separated the Great Sioux Nation into seven separate and distinct islands to break the traditional relationship between the Sioux bands, and to open up areas for non-Indian settlement. District enclaves were established as centers for assimilation programs.

When a 1903 U.S. Supreme Court judgment gave the Indian Administration a free hand with its "Indian wards", Standing Rock Reservation was opened up by a series of "surplus land acts" and white settlers moved in by the thousands, creating tremendous internal social and cultural tensions. The Bureau of Indian Affairs encouraged the loss of native lands, property, culture, religion, and lifestyle by any possible means.



By the mid 1920s, the task was complete. The Standing Rock people and their lands were under a complete state of colonization and control.

About this time, the U.S. unilaterally moved to make every Indian an automatic U.S. citizen, a citizen to whom it had hardly any greater obligation than any other citizen.

Even those lands which remained in native hands were frequently lost when taxation, survival, emergencies, or mismanagement caused them to be sold to non-native interests. Lands continued to be sold until 1934 when the Indian Reorganization Act was passed.

But by then, the situation was bleak. Non-Indians outnumbered Indians by 3-to-1 on the reservation. Native American people ranked among the poorest in the world.

And then came the drought and the depression, coupled with the well-intended Indian administration of John Collier, Franklin Roosevelt's Indian Commissioner. The destruction was halted, and minor gains were made. "It was only because of Lakota/Dakota tenacity, the will to exist, and the adherence to the culture, that the tribe survived the previous 50 years," McLaughlin says.



Then came the backlash after World War II — termination. At a time when the per capita income at Standing Rock was \$355 compared to the South Dakota average of \$2,500, the Indians were to be "freed". BIA services were reduced, and relocation programs designed to move native people into the large urban centers began to move into action. However, because the Standing Rock People were sustaining themselves from the land, they were not as hard hit as were other reservations.

The most serious blow was yet to come — the 1970s policy of increasing dependency of native peoples by providing capital for non-productive services, while holding productive investment in Indian country to a minimum.

Between 1955 and 1970, the huge gap between Lakota income and the U.S. average had narrowed by less than 3%. Greater shares of income had gone to reservation elites as instant capitalism hit the reservations. For all the talk of self-determination, the total atmosphere of chronic enforced dependency is the ruling mechanism.

Between 1805 and 1976, every change of U.S. policy resulted in reduction of sovereignty for the Lakotas, while directly increasing the dependency of the people and tribal government on the U.S. Indian Administration bureaucracy.

Today, Indian Administration policy fails to recognize or adhere to the treaty law which, according to the U.S. Constitution, is "the highest law of the land". The illegal violations of U.S. law by successive BIA administrations is the most serious problem native people face with the U.S.

Remedies proposed by the Twenty Points of the Trail of Broken Treaties seem to be the most promising means of creating these defects. In fact, there are few alternatives to even consider.

Courts have stripped the Standing Rock and other tribal governments from jurisdiction over lands within reservation boundaries. A recent U.S. District Court ruling held that the Standing Rock areas with the heaviest Lakota population, and the area where trust land-holdings are concentrated, are not within Lakota jurisdiction.

In 1906, the Standing Rock people held 2.3 million acres, sufficient for a strong economic basis. However, the U.S. Congress declared that the land was farming land, not grazing land, and decided that 160-acre homesteads were sufficient. Lands above this quantity were confiscated by the U.S.

Restoration of this land base is a high-priority target.

Standing Rock lost 56,000 acres of prime river-bottom land and timber as recently as 1958 through the Oahe Reservoir Act. The Army Corps of Engineers and Interior Department exploited the greatest natural resource of the Standing Rock people for the benefit of off-reservation development. The loss of timber, wild fruit and game caused self-sustaining families to be moved from their lands into new frame houses requiring oil, gas, or electricity. The new life-style in the crowded "cluster housing" caused social problems as well.

Now, a new encroachment has to be dealt with — "sportsmen" who trespass on Indian lands to get to the reservoir behind the dam. The native people lack jurisdiction to deal with the problem under U.S. law.

The Deadly Trap of Contracting

The problem with the Indian Administration is that once someone comes along with a system or program for the benefit of native people, someone else comes along and makes it work against them.

Take contracting. At Standing Rock and elsewhere, there were complaints about the BIA running every-

thing — and badly at that. Why couldn't the same money the BIA uses be given to a tribal government so it could provide the same services under its own auspices and administration? Truly self-determination would blossom, the reasoning goes.

In actual fact, this is the way it seems to work. The BIA deliberately lets a particular service go sour. When the native people complain, the BIA offers to let the tribal council assume that function, agreeing to pay it for its services through a contract. Initially, it does not ask the tribal council to put in any of its own money.

After a year or so, federal officials say that it will be necessary to diminish the funding somewhat, but in exchange, it will slightly increase payment to the tribal council for timber or mineral resources royalties. The local native people will pressure the tribal council to accept the deal lest the services decline. Tribal members employed in the program will make the same demand in order to save their jobs. The public will back up the federal officials, because it will see that the tribal government appears capable of paying for the program.

From there, the kill is easy. Increasingly, all the tribal government's funds go to provide services, some of which are not even essential. No funds are left for development of the economy of the reservation, although that economic development could provide the necessary funds and more.

The result is a community which is poor, dependent, and caught in a cycle guaranteeing that it will remain that way. And the bureaucracy remains in firm control, even though it has created the impression that "self-determination" is in effect.

When tribal officials try to cut services, they lose credibility with their own people. If they don't cut services, the economy continues in a downward spiral and they still lose credibility. Leaders who try to come through for their people can't come through with their promise and leadership potential is destroyed.

Furthermore, the bureaucracy is protected by a mini-bureaucracy on the reservation who want to keep their jobs and who will fight the only way out of the dilemma — cancel the contracting arrangement. All conflicts between native people and federal agencies over funding are internalized.

The winner? The Bureau of Indian Affairs [or its Canadian counterpart]. Its budget is freed for expansion, Congress can't cut back on appropriations, and it doesn't have to hassle with the grassroots native people. Often, the federal government can supply Indian funds through state governments, thus weakening the relationship between sovereigns.

Standing Rock tribal officials are actually seeking to increase the role of the local agency superintendent, for they have seen that when the agency declines, the Area Offices become stronger, providing a further impersonal obstacle between themselves and the people with power.



Low-Rental Housing For The Rich

Bureaucratic snafus, profiteering contractors, poor administration, and social disorganization have created tremendous problems with housing at Standing Rock. The complexities and atrocities in that one area give an example of the task which the AIPRC faces in unsnarling the relationship between native peoples and the United States Government.

Three U.S. agencies are involved in housing — Public Health Service, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of Housing & Urban Development [HUD]. Then there is the tribal Housing Authority plus the tribal government, all of which has created a housing bureaucracy that no one can manage.

In McLaughlin, a Standing Rock settlement, one HUD rental unit has been without heat and hot water for over a year now. Gas furnaces repeatedly malfunction in other units, resulting in freezing and burst pipes.

Over in Wakpala, eighteen houses were damaged in a flood in 1974. One federal agency says they are in a flood plain, another one says no. Occupants of the home have been told they do not qualify for federal help, and they have not been able to repair the damage. But even if the flood victims were to move to HUD new housing, there would be another problem: not enough water. Wells yield water slowly, and pumps must operate continuously. Breakdowns are frequent, and the equipment requires trained service personnel. However, the Housing Authority, PHS, BIA, HUD, and

the tribal council combined do not have funds to hire a repairman. Structural errors in laying the sewer lines also are causing problems. A 1974 report outlining the major housing problems still hasn't been acted upon.

The Housing Authority is not subsidized, and exists on rent it collects. Therefore, it is unwilling to rent the low-rental houses to low-income people. Home ownership is equally difficult — even the mutual-help houses require a \$1,000 down payment.

At the community of Bullhead, sand comes out of water taps, and 38 newly-constructed homes have been plugged into a damaged sewage system. The new basements frequently are blessed with backed-up sewage, mainly because, experts say, there isn't enough water to flush the system. Water has to be trucked in at times.

Cannonball isn't in much better shape. There only one of the three wells is operational. The sewage system here also backs up regularly twice a year, and the sewage lagoon is not maintained. Homes built years ago still are not landscaped. At least five families are living in new homes — without plumbing, heat, or electricity.

Because regulations for accepting new tenants, setting rental rates, and making other decisions are set in Washington, the local people feel victimized by the impersonal system over which they have no control. They find themselves without freedom, ruled not by dictators, but by bureaucrats.

With 80% of the Standing Rock population on welfare and a regulation that a single person must earn \$4,000 to be eligible for "Turn Key Housing", obviously the housing program is not meant for the poor. Some welfare families who are in rental homes must pay as much as 50% of their welfare check in rent.

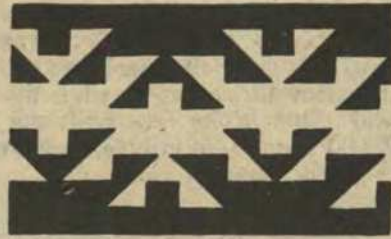
The administrators say they too are victims of the system. Funds are available for only six maintenance men for 507 houses — 50% of their time goes to replacing broken windowpanes. Renovation of 100 units is estimated at \$200,000, but HUD has provided only \$80,000.

Some of the construction was done by the Standing Rock Housing Corporation at \$30,000 a unit, but officials blame subcontractors for shoddy work. Currently, the Housing Authority buys propane for heating from a firm at 38 cents a gallon, even though a local competitor is willing to supply it for 29 cents.

Housing built with federal funds also is subject to "equal opportunity" clauses. That means that at least 19 non-Indian families applied for and received housing built with funds specifically allocated for Indian housing.

Most of the housing, designed in Washington by suburban architects, are "cluster houses" — instant ticky-tacks crowding together peoples accustomed to independence and space. Cluster housing not only creates serious problems with water and sewage systems, but has created social chaos as well. Alcohol, violence, alienation are frequent symptoms of the problem.

In a recent one-month period, the reservation experienced the suicide-hanging of a 16-year-old boy in the reservation jail, saw two young adults die of alcohol-induced cirrhosis of the liver, had a person die from an alcohol-related hit-and-run accident, experienced a shotgun suicide by a young adult, and buried two other people from alcohol-related auto accidents. While a problem of this magnitude obviously has many causes, cluster housing looms significantly.



And problems make problems. The cluster housing requires more policing, creates unsanitary living conditions, and promotes vandalism. These instant villages have no infrastructure — fire protection is totally absent.

Each agency pleads not guilty. Indian Health Service officials say policies are clear that water and sewage problems must be assumed by the community. The community, dependent upon Washington for dollars, says it doesn't have the money.

And this is just one problem area on one reservation. The AIPRC task-forces have only one year to file their reports, and that year is almost gone.

Advocating Easy Solutions

The Standing Rock tribal leaders do not have a reputation as "militants" or "radicals" — but they generally are regarded as having the best interests of their people at heart. In a recent submission to the American Indian Policy Review Commission in Denver, Pat McLaughlin spoke for his council in listing the steps which must be taken to resolve the sticky, messy situation that has had such tragic consequences.

Pointing out that the laws passed by Congress governing Indians are "neither wise nor just", the Standing

Rock Council says that the U.S. should adopt the policy which international law dictates: "No laws of the United States shall be regarded as affecting the Standing Rock Sioux People in Indian Country without our consent."

Treaty law, McLaughlin points out, requires mutual consent to any adjustments. He notes that the U.S. Constitution does not give the right to govern native nations, but only the limited power "to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes." The present powers which the U.S. claims over Indian peoples on their own lands has no basis either in U.S. law or international law.

The most serious problem faced at Standing Rock today is the issue of termination of the reservation by recent judicial interpretations of laws, laws which it says are not valid over them because they violate treaties unilaterally. The issue is presently being decided before the Supreme Court in the case of *Rosebud v. Kneip*, a case which some legal observers say is rigged, doomed to fail native interests.

Restoration of the Standing Rock land base is another essential action so that the people will have an economic base. The present reservation is checker-boarded — an Indian family here, a white family next door.

"We are advocating a restoration and land reform program which can take place over a long period of time so that neither the Indian interests nor non-Indian interests will be discriminated against," McLaughlin proposed to AIPRC. He said that there are at least 21 land owners now who want to sell their holdings to Standing Rock — holdings totalling 56,551 acres, ranging in price from \$150 to \$265 per acre, with a combined market value of about \$10-million.

Standing Rock officials call for the dissolution of the BIA's Area Office in Aberdeen, noting that the area office system seems primarily "to blunt and disperse those tribal actions which the central and policy-making levels within the Bureau do not wish to recognize." On the other hand, they said, the Area Offices serve "as a springboard to permit and advocate those policies regardless of tribal consent, favored by past Indian Administrations which have been destructive to the tribal society."

While there are serious difficulties at some levels with the American Indian Policy Review Commission, it is the best opportunity for this generation to change the relationship which native nations have with the United States of America.

In the meantime, Standing Rock People continue to dig in to survive.

TAOS PROGRESSIVES FILE COURT SUIT FOR ELECTRICITY

Taos Pueblo (New Mexico) — Taos progressives who want electricity have taken the traditional people to U.S. District Court to force them to allow power lines in the ancient community.

Judge Edwin L. Mechem listened to a two-day trial of a suit against the Taos Council May 10 and 11. He gave attorneys 15 days to submit final briefs, and then he will decide, on behalf of the United States Government, whether to strike down the Taos Council's ordinance that allows electric lines west of the pueblo but not in the residential area to the east.

Both sides agree there should be no electrification of the area within the walls of the famous tiered complex that has been the home of the Taos People for six centuries. Most families now live outside the complex in conventional housing, returning to the old home-place only for ceremonial occasions, testimony indicated.

The case could also become a precedent in the use of the 1969 Indian Civil Rights Act, which pretends to extend rights from the U.S. Constitution to settle disputes within a native nation.

The council's key witness was Juan Jesus Romero, the 90-year-old religious leader, or cacique, of the pueblo. Speaking in the Tiwa language, the spiritual grandfather said it has caused him pain to see electricity come to the pueblo. He acknowledged the council had overruled him even in allowing power lines on the west. But, he said, power lines on the east would be a desecration.

"Everything originates in the East," said the elder, who lives alone in a small house near the river that flows to the pueblo from the east. "I am the spiritual head of the Taos Pueblo. I tell my people how to conduct their religion. The governor of the pueblo takes his direction from me. When the governor calls the council together, I indicate what should be discussed." And, he said, "I am in total disagreement with the introduction of electricity in the eastern area."

He declined to discuss the religion of the Taos People, but said the east "has uses every person of Taos descent knows about."

The area east of the old wall has three kivas and a ceremonial race track along with scattered houses. The spiritual leader is concerned about the changes he sees: "Nobody adheres to an agricultural way of life, so the general population is lax in obedience to what is required by the elders."

The council and the religious leaders are opposed by young men who have jobs and no longer wear braided hair. Some have been fighting for electricity since 1965, when armed men erected a barricade to stop the power cooperative from disconnecting taps to houses from the pueblo's first line put in by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to the BIA school.

Their wives said that the children don't have electrical



light to study by.

Joe D. Lujan, 47, the only male among the original individual plaintiffs, said that he has threatened to abandon his religious kiva duties "if they don't give me electricity."

The basis of the suit by Taos legal-aid attorney Peggy Nelson is that the eastern residents outside the wall are the victims of unlawful discrimination by the council.

However, a neighbor of Joe Lujan, Natividad Lujan, who has lived in the area since 1941 without electricity, told the court: "If I had electricity, I would

soon go into having a well drilled, and go into a lot of things that the outside world does." She said she would follow the will of the council.

Senior councilman Teserino Jiron said, "I stand on my own two feet in stating my belief it is not up to us to desecrate our Mother Earth." He said it was wrong to dig trenches for underground power lines in sacred places.

The council is also on record as opposing a proposed Bureau of Reclamation dam in the canyon east of the

pueblo, improvements to the Forest Service road, proposed Forest service trails, and most recently, a BIA forestry station.

The trial ended in a battle between two anthropologists, retired University of New Mexico professor Florence Ellis, who supported the traditionals, and Prof. John J. Bodine, head of the anthropology department at American University in Washington, D.C.

Before native people had access to district court judges and anthropologists, they settled things amongst themselves, according to their own laws.

THE MAGICAL DISAPPEARING WATER RIGHTS



Washington, D.C. — The U.S. Congress is now considering a bill that could return enough water to the five central Arizona reservations so they could be self-sufficient after a century of theft of reservation water supplies by neighboring interests.

The five reservations are the Gila River Pima-Maricopas, the Salt River Pima-Maricopas, the Ak Chin Papago-Pimas, the Fort McDowell Mohave-Apaches, and the Papagos.

For centuries before the first European settlers came to the West, these nations enjoyed abundant crops, grown with plentiful irrigated agriculture.

But soon the settlers started to divert the rivers to their own fields, and the amount of land which the native farmers could plant dwindled to hardly any. Now the little water they have left is seriously threatened by agribusiness, by the thirsty and growing metropolis of Phoenix and Tucson, and by the power companies that supply these cities with energy.

The new bill was introduced by Senator Edward Kennedy, Democrat from Massachusetts, on April 13 at the request of the tribes themselves. Titled the Central Arizona Indian Tribal Water Rights Settlement Act of 1976 (S. 3298), it would direct the Secretary of Interior to purchase non-Indian land using water which is subject to Indian claim. With that land then in the public domain, it would be taken out of production, and the surface water would be allowed to flow back onto Indian land. The bill also provides funds for tribal irrigation canals and agricultural development loans.

While that may sound expensive to U.S. taxpayers, it is cheap compared to what the U.S. already has in mind for 151 farmers in the Welton-Mohawk Irrigation Project area. The U.S. is planning to build a desalinization plant at a cost of \$1-billion to clean up water flowing off 151 farms — that's an average cost of \$6,600,000 per farm. Under the Tribal Water Rights Settlement Act, this land would simply be bought, and irrigation water formerly used on it would go to the native farmers.

Settlement of the water rights for the five reservations is especially urgent now, because the Secretary of Interior is currently considering how the water to be delivered by the Central Arizona Project [CAP] will be allocated. Authorized in 1968 after 20 years of political wrangling, CAP is a federal billion-dollar program to divert the Colorado River water via aqueduct 200 miles east to the growing cities of Tucson and Phoenix.

Native leaders had originally believed they would receive their fair share of CAP water so they could permanently maintain their farmland. In fact, the project had been justified by its planners in part as a way to make up for the continuing theft of Indian water from the Salt and Gila Rivers, and the depletion of groundwater supplies on reservations.



However, the allocations proposed by former Interior Secretary Rogers Morton sharply limited CAP water for the reservations, and guaranteed even that for twenty years only. First priority was given to municipal and industrial users. One First People came last — the Fort McDowell Mohave-Apaches would receive no water at all, even though they would have to move their entire reservation to make room for flooding which the project would cause.

Not only is it obvious that the farmers living on the land, using water from rivers, have priority over new arrivals who want to use the same water — even if those farmers are native people. That right to water has been

upheld in several court decisions. In *Winters v. U.S.* in 1908, the U.S. Supreme Court held that Indian tribes are entitled to at least enough water to make their reservations viable. And in another landmark decision in 1963, the Supreme Court ruled that tribes are legally entitled to water in sufficient quantities to irrigate all their irrigable acreage.

In practice, however, the U.S. Government itself has violated these rulings, and the Interior Department has failed to fulfill its legal responsibilities as the trustee of Indian water rights by sitting idly by while the water was stolen away. That failure now costs the tribes about \$90,000,000 annually in income, amounting to about \$3,000 a year per tribal member.



— Tucson Citizen photo by John Winters
Papago tribal leaders survey cattle carcasses at a reservation waterhole. A few years ago, thousands of cattle died for lack of water.

Last October, the Senate Interior Committee held two days of hearings, and tribal representatives traveled to Washington to present extensive evidence concerning their water rights. Following their hearings, they tried to get the Interior Committee to introduce a bill on their behalf.

No bill was introduced. One high-ranking Congressional staff member told Liberation News Service, "A lot of westerners would be upset" by a bill in behalf of the native people. Many members of the Interior Committee represent western and southern industrial, development, and energy interests, in direct conflict with native interests and trusts for which that committee is responsible.

"The same people we're up against are the people who are supposed to be looking out after our interests," Gerald Anton, President of the Salt River community said.

All this explains why it was necessary for a senator from the eastern state of Massachusetts to introduce legislation on behalf of native people from the West. The Arizona press began a campaign of opposition to the bill immediately after it was introduced, saying its passage would strike a heavy blow to the Arizona economy.

Barry Goldwater is outraged at Kennedy's sponsorship. He says that Kennedy "injects himself into a problem that Arizonans and their Indians have long ago solved."

But not only is Goldwater's statement paternalistic, it ain't true.

Ask the native people of Central Arizona. They will tell you they have been cheated out of water rights — grossly cheated, while the BIA has consistently given in to business pressures.

In exchange for reducing the adequate river water supply of native communities to the present brackish and dwindling groundwater, the U.S. has given welfare checks. But the tribal people say they would rather farm and support themselves as their people have done in the past.

That isn't just a dream. Not long ago, the people of Ak-Chin wrested control of their farming from the BIA by defying the law. Since then, they have earned

enough to build new homes and service buildings and set up their own public aid system.

Federal authorities and CAP supporters say the new project will surely make amends for the white man's wrongs. But promises in Arizona have a way of vanishing, as they have elsewhere. In 1935, they can recall, the U.S. promised to restore 210,000 acre-feet of Gila River water annually to the Gila River Community. Then, it added a proviso saying that non-Indian settlers upstream from the reservation could ignore the Gila entitlement. Since then, the native people have filed several lawsuits against upstream farmers, but to no avail. Only a fraction of the water promised reaches Gila River Reservation farms.

The Papagos of the San Xavier District have filed a lawsuit against Tucson mines and farming interests south of the district because they are collectively pumping Papago wells dry.

Welton-Mohawk irrigation project is poorly designed. It takes water directly from the Colorado River and has oversaturated much of the land on which it is used, requiring a reverse pumping system and a separate canal to siphon off the surplus and deliver it to Mexico. But the drain water is so high in mineral content that it can be neither drunk nor used for farming. This situation has strained international relations with Mexico and has resulted in a congressional commitment of over \$335-million to build a desalter on the drainage canal, to sink new wells, and to take other measures.

By abandoning the project, paying off the farm owners, and letting the native people have the water for their lands is a far less costly proposal.

Anton accuses the press of scare tactics, noting that the full content of the legislation is yet to be disclosed to Arizona readers. "Look what the Indians are going to do to you, — get up in arms and oppose it," is the opposition line, Anton says.

If the legislation fails, a court fight will be necessary. That battle could stall CAP for another two to five years, perhaps killing the project altogether. "We need support from all over the U.S. to get our water rights recognized," Anton believes. The tribes feel that the U.S. democracy is still in good enough working order that if people write to their senators and to U.S. President Gerald Ford urging legislative settlement of native water rights, that will happen.

Whether that hope is realistic or not, it reflects the desperate nature of the situation. "Our economy, our culture, our way of life and our survival as a people is at stake," Anton points out.

Even the more distant Navajos got taken in on the Central Arizona Project. The power to pump the water from Havasu to Phoenix is to be generated from the new power station at Page, Arizona, which is designed to use annually 8-million tons of coal strip-mined from the Navajo Reservation, plus 34,000 acre-feet of water that Interior Department and the State of Arizona

talked the Navajos into allotting to the power station. In exchange, the Navajos got a promise of Indian preference in hiring on the strip mine, and a five year grant totalling \$125,000 to the Navajo Community College.

The Navajo Irrigation plan was approved in 1962 along with an over-the-Rockies water-shifting scheme, the San Juan-Chama Project. This project, promoted by non-Indian real estate interests on the Rio Grande, was completed long ago. In the meantime, the Navajos have had to wait.

But what the press releases did not say was that the Interior Department had moved to cut the Navajo allocation from the San Juan by more than half. Arthur calls it "a classic case of bureaucratic theft."

Gasification plants in particular are heavy users of water. The chemical process of making gas from coal requires water to provide hydrogen for the gas produced. In Navajo Nation, the first big refinery complex — a showcase undertaking of the Ford Administration's Project Independence — will take water away from Navajo people. Navajos say the State of New Mexico is helping the industrial interests to steal Navajo water.

Two companies involved in the project, the El Paso Natural Gas Company and Wesco, urgently need the synthetic gas they propose to manufacture at seven plant sites near Burnham. That means they urgently need water, too. Wesco has a contract allocation of 44,000 acre-feet from the San Juan River, a tributary of the Colorado that flows through the Navajo Nation. But that agreement runs out in 1978, a satisfactory renegotiation of the contract is doubtful.

William Veeder, maverick water rights specialist who works for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, charges that the San Juan River "was long ago grossly over-appropriated to the irreparable damage of four big Indian reservations — the Navajo, the Jicarilla Apache, and two tribes of Utes — even before the coal gasification claims were made." Veeder has studied the situation for more than 40 years.

Young Navajo experts like Harris Arthur, an agricultural engineer who heads the Shiprock Research Center, say the water thefts continue. Arthur points to the recent announcement by the Interior Department's Bureau of Reclamation, amid a flurry of press releases, that the first 10,000-acre section of the Navajo Indian Irrigation Project was to be dedicated July 4, 1975 — 13 years after it was approved by Congress.

Last November, Tom Fredericks, water rights lawyer for Native American Rights Fund, told a conference of state legislators that states can no longer ignore native peoples' water rights. Explaining these rights, Fredericks notes that when the Federal Government established Indian reservations, it acknowledged that the native people had rights to all the water they needed to develop their lands and resources. That water isn't subject to the same restrictions placed on water used in Western states by non-Indians. Under Western water law, the first person to beneficially use water from a stream may claim it as a property right. If he fails to use his water, though, he loses his right to it.

Indian water rights, however, aren't lost by non-use, and the rights extend to all future uses of water. The water Indians are guaranteed is that which is theirs —



— Liberation News Service

water that arises on the reservation, flows through it or occurs under it.

Whitman told the officials. "All federal agents, agencies, states, private parties or organizations are put on notice that any diversion shall be at their own risk."

Kleppe's only reply was a promise already made false by the facts before he made it: "I can assure the tribal leaders that our Department will certainly avoid any infringement of Indian water rights."

In 1972, 51 tribal council representatives met in Denver to make a pact to fight efforts to divert water from one region to another. Currently, the Congress has a moratorium on water diversion, but that will

expire in 1978. Native leaders feared that monied interests in the Southwest will try to obtain water from the Pacific Northwest. They foresee that one of the justifications which will be tried will be that the diverted water is to help the water-poor Indians of the Southwest.



"The failure of states to take such rights into account in the administration and management of their water law systems will inevitably produce some very harsh results," Fredericks promises. For example, he said, states which appropriate Indian waters to non-Indians downstream from reservations may face the unpleasant prospect of having Indians cut off water to farms, industry, and cities when they simply exercise the rights they have.

"It appears to be the case that states are attempting to take what they can, while they can, and ask questions later," Fredericks noted. But, he added, "Gone are the days when infringement upon the reserved rights of Indian tribes will be overlooked or tolerated."

Legislation before Congress to require adjudication of Indian rights is opposed by all 50 states. At stake is the immense amount of water needed for energy developers — water which will be drawn from relatively limited resources. In Montana, for instance, energy corporations have already asked the state for more water from the Tongue, Powder, and Big Horn Rivers than those rivers carry in many years — and then there is Indian water rights and water for area farmers that is not even considered.

Equally strong words came from Carl Whitman, executive director of Tribal Industrial Development Office at the Fort Berthold Reservation. "We will resist and take every legal step necessary to halt or delay any allocations of our water, with the hope that our white brother will learn to curb his wayward and expensive habits." Whitman's statement came as a surprise to delegates at a North Dakota water conference last February, since other speakers such as Secretary of Interior Thomas Kleppe and North Dakota Governor Arthur Link were discussing the need for more water for agriculture and coal development.

"Any major diversion for any purpose would constitute encroachment upon Indian water rights,"

WATER BRINGS LIFE BACK TO AK-CHIN RESERVATION AS PEOPLE TAKE MATTERS INTO THEIR OWN HANDS

Ak-Chin Farms, Arizona — Panic has something to do with it, this lack of reason. Panic and Profits.

Southern Arizona has little water, but the need for it here is ascending at the same rate that the supply is plummeting. Streams that once flowed full at the turn of the century now flow strong only in the few hours of a desert flood. The mammoth lake of groundwater, 300 to 500 feet below the surface, is being pumped with such delirious fervor that in places, fissures have split the land, and surface elevations have dropped ten feet or more, as if an earthquake had pulverized the supporting formations below.

Reason would dictate conservation. But panic and profits force the reverse. Water users confess that they can only "pump like hell" and pray that confession will win them salvation by the Central Arizona Project's importation of Colorado River water. And when CAP is obsolete in 20 years or so because of costs and pollution, and the over-appropriation of the Colorado, they pray for technology — atomic desalinization plants, or maybe water from the Northwest Territories of Canada — it's been discussed in Congress.

Around 1960, when the late Richard Carlyle returned from the armed service to the Ak-Chin Reservation, any comparison between Ak-Chin and a city like Phoenix would have made them look continents apart instead of just 35 miles. Of the 300-plus Papago families on Ak-Chin, only two families had electricity in their homes, and no one had indoor plumbing. It seemed obvious that Ak-Chin was afflicted with the terminal stage of galloping poverty.

The BIA was not interested in supplying any more life-sustaining aid, and it did not look like a merciful death. Like most of the other employed men on Ak-Chin, and there were few, Carlyle went to work for the short-staple cotton farmers around Ak-Chin. But there was a difference. Carlyle's father had always talked of how the people of the Ak-Chin community should stop leasing out their productive land to Anglo farmers and consolidate it into a farm for their own profit.

Leona Kakar, Carlyle's sister, and head of the Ak-Chin Farm Committee, says that her father never did more than speculate about the project, but her brother and an Anglo farmer put it into practice. Carlyle's job was to organize the tribe and bully the BIA into agreement. The Anglo farmer went out looking for financing, which finally began trickling in. And although Carlyle never lived to see it, the farm, within 12 years, built new homes for all Ak-Chin families, a community hall with a large swimming pool, a tribally-owned commissary, and a job possibility for anyone on the

reservation who wanted work. Last year, the Ak-Chin Farms grossed on paper over \$1-million and ended the year with \$600,000 net profit. Mrs. Kakar said the farm no longer has to beg for financing — investors come to them.

Ak-Chin Farms has the capability to farm 100,000 acres, and has had almost 7,000 acres under cultivation at one time. But in the last few years, the Indians have had to cut that acreage by almost half. The first symptom of the problem is an electric bill that keeps getting higher and higher for several reasons. First, it takes an increasing amount of power to pump from increasing depths. Second, Ak-Chin Farms buys power from the hydroelectric arm of the Salt River Project (SRP), a major central Arizona utility, and because the reservation pays no property tax, and because the Salt River Project is a user-owned quasi-governmental entity, it makes up the property tax loss by charging non-tax payers the highest going rate — a rate that keeps going higher because of the SRP's internal structure. SRP sells two commodities — water and electrical power. Water is basic, and the vast bulk of SRP water goes to irrigators. And since voting shares in the project are based on the number of irrigated acres, the biggest agricultural interests in the area control SRP. Naturally enough, SRP keeps agricultural water rates lower and makes it up from industrial and residential users.

"As long as we can make just one dollar of profit on the farm, we have no choice but to pump like hell," says Burton Hirsch, Ak-Chin tribal attorney. Beyond that, his hope is the same as everyone else's — that they don't run out of water in the 10 or 12 or 15 years that it will take to build the Central Arizona Project. And beyond that is nothing but technological dreams. "You've seen these pictures of dead cattle laying around a dry water hole," said Hirsch. "Well, they were all taken down on Papago," the much larger reservation that lies south of Ak-Chin along the Mexico line. Papago has terminal drought.

Last July, the conditions were critical, and Papago officials were publicly browbeating the BIA for emergency relief from the aridity that had spread across the entire Southwest, closing national forests and recreation areas to tourists, destroying crops, and padding the photo files of woeful cattle and smug vultures.

Between Ak-Chin and Papago is the Gila River Reservation. Long before Ak-Chin's renaissance, Gila River had a tribally-owned farm and its own irrigation system. But the farm was stifled in growth because the governmental structure of the reservation made it

difficult to consolidate tribal lands across the boundaries of its semi-autonomous administrative districts and because of all-too-typical federal attitudes.

The Pima-Maricopa people of Gila River are the only people indigenous to the Phoenix area. They have been farming the banks of the Gila River for centuries, supplying fresh produce to the Spanish explorers, the gold-fevered immigrants of the 1840s, and whatever other army was passing through. It was almost solely to preserve this cultural tradition and service — or so goes the Congressional rhetoric — that the U.S. Government authorized the construction of Coolidge Dam and Reservoir on the Gila River 80 miles or more to the east.

But the results somehow did not mesh with the intentions. For one thing, it is said that Coolidge Dam is a marvel of dismal engineering, making the storage capabilities of the reservoir almost insignificant in terms of downstream needs. Another problem is geography. Coolidge Dam is located on the far eastern slope of the valley, and the Gila River Reservation is on the far western side. Between the two lay millions of acres of choice cotton land.

When all factors were added up, Gila River did not get any water, but the farmers between it and the dam did.

So Gila River hangs on too, frustrated, hot and dusty, clutching what little water comes its way, and praying that Central Arizona Project will set it free from thirst.

But in the dreams of expanded reservation agriculture seep a few inescapable questions. Is the timing a little late? Is agriculture dwindling in the Valley of the Sun at a faster than usual rate? And has the Bureau of Reclamation (BuRec) just changed its priorities? And are more and more people beginning to listen to those few maverick agricultural economists who say that the final cost of CAP water will make any kind of irrigation prohibitive, and that the best system is to phase out farming in the area and change water-management procedures to favor light industry and domestic consumption, thus eliminating the need for the CAP and its astronomical costs? And given the proved nature of BuRec, will the agency favor the City of Phoenix and the largest of the corporate farmers in the allotment of CAP water, to the disadvantage of Indians?

Questions concerning the eventual fate of central Arizona agriculture seem far out of the control of the reservations.

[Thanks to Steve Nickeson for this excerpt.]



"NO MATTER WHERE WE ARE, OUR MOTHER EARTH IS THERE.
WE, HER CHILDREN, ARE BROTHERS AND SISTERS TO ONE ANOTHER.
WE ALL HAVE DIFFERENT WAYS, BUT THROUGH ONE SPIRIT,
WE ARE THE SAME."

Tse Waa

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Dispossessing The Dispossessed

Fort McDowell Reservation, Arizona — In the year of the 200th anniversary of the founding of the United States, native people are still being dispossessed of their lands.

The Yavapai people on the reservation here near Phoenix are being confronted with a plan of the Bureau of Reclamation which would flood the Yavapai lands by construction of the Orme Dam and Reservoir, a part of the Central Arizona Project [CAP]. While native interests are supposed to be protected by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, its parent agency is the same as BuRec — the Department of the Interior.

CAP is a project designed to bring water 200 miles uphill to Phoenix and Tucson from the Colorado River which runs down Arizona's western boundary. The task is the biggest BuRec has had in its history.

Southern California is a glutton for the natural resources of the Southwest. Besides electricity, it consumes enormous amounts of water. The demand for water began early in the 1900s, and the city built a 233-mile aqueduct to import water from the southern Sierra Nevada Mountain Range. This, the Owens Valley Project, left the southern Sierra a desert wasteland, and created protest — but it allowed Los Angeles to grow.

In the 1930s, Los Angeles saw it would need more water. The solution this time was the Colorado River Aqueduct, 250 miles, through mountains and across the Mohave Desert.

In 1947, Arizona began planning its Central Arizona Project [CAP], an aqueduct that would also tap the Colorado, bringing the water east to Phoenix, Tucson, and the farmers and ranchers who live in between.

The real victim is the river. In the short 105 years since it was explored by John Wesley Powell, the Colorado River has been diverted, manipulated, and dammed beyond any 19th Century engineer's wildest dreams. Powell gave most of the names now on the map to the bends and turns in the river — today, though, he would find the river's condition staggering.

The present Fort McDowell reservation was "created" in 1903 in fulfillment of U.S. promises made to the Yavapai in exchange for their loyalty during the U.S. campaign to dominate western North America. Apparently one acre out of 300 was the best the U.S. could spare.



But even if historical injustices are let be bygones, the CAP situation is evidence enough of the low regard in which the Yavapai are held. Although CAP was first introduced as a bill to Congress in 1947, and although hearings were held over the years with testimony given by many special interest groups until the legislation finally cleared in 1968, the Yavapai were never consulted. No congressman has been to Fort McDowell to talk with the people, nor has any governor, mayor, or other official sat down to discuss the flooding. The first telephone was installed on the reservation in 1967 and the Yavapai people were kept uninformed about the Orme Dam development.

Finally, in 1973, four years after Congress passed the CAP legislation, BuRec met with the Yavapai at Fort McDowell and told them they would have to move. Great sums of money were offered in compensation, but the Yavapai said they didn't want the money, they didn't want the dam, and they didn't want to move.

Beginning with Flaming Gorge in Wyoming, just south of the city of Green River where Powell began his first trip, and ending at Yuma, Arizona, the Colorado River is used and reused. The demand for the river's water shows no signs of letting up.

More than 30 years after the first plans for CAP, no one is quite sure that it is necessary. There are three principal users planned. One, the city of Phoenix, now says it doesn't want very much water from CAP. Tucson isn't sure if it wants to participate at all. Farmers are finding that it might be cheaper to pump water from their wells.

But the project will require that most of the Fort McDowell Indian Reservation just outside Phoenix be used for a part-time storage reservoir, flooding about 300 native people from their lands.

Arizona badly wants to grow. And despite the fact that the project might not be needed, most Arizonans are determined that CAP will be built — no matter who doesn't need it.

Yavapai People Resist Flooding

The problem at Fort McDowell Reservation is a special one. Not only do they have no water allotment

that they can use, but the United States Government wants them to give up their last 24,000 acres so a dam can be built to help out the Central Arizona Project.

For several years now, Government officials have been courting the Yavapai People of Fort McDowell to sell them on the Orme Dam. In April, representatives of the Bureau of Reclamation began a five-week series of meetings to woo the Yavapai on the idea of moving off their lands, located on the Verde River.

Now the U.S. isn't being cheap about it. They plan to pay \$33.5-million, to help them build new homes, and to relocate them. Tribal members would receive nearly \$100,000 each.

Trouble is, the Yavapai People are more interested in their land than in money. At the April 28 BuRec meeting, Hiawatha Hood, a resident of the reservation, told Clifford Pugh, Phoenix area BuRec director, "You're just wasting your time here tonight. We have already told you we don't want the dam. We want our land. We want our culture. We want our way of life."

Another elderly man stood up and told Pugh, "You're going to drown Indians over here to save millionaires over there," pointing toward the metropolitan Phoenix area.

A woman spoke sternly: "I don't enjoy living up on the hill. I like it down by the river where there are trees."

Most of the 80 reservation members that came to the meeting were elders — men and women with withered faces, white hair and canes. Their eyes reflected a determination, as time and time again, Pugh explained that the final decision on Orme Dam will come from the Yavapais themselves in a tribal referendum.

Last year, an informal vote taken on the subject was soundly defeated 140 to 1.

"You could fill this whole room with money, and I'd still want land," Hood explained to Pugh.

But Pugh says the meetings will be necessary so that the Yavapai People can make an "intelligent decision."

After the meeting, Bureau of Indian Affairs police checked identification and driver's licenses of those who had spoken against the dam at the meeting. One of those stopped was Hood, who was taken into custody when he did not produce a driver's license.

That sort of thing may explain why a Los Angeles consultant who studied the impact of the Orme Reservoir on the Yavapai reported that the Yavapai have an "underlying distrust of the Federal Government."

BIA police closed the May 5 meeting which followed the first one. The order is said to have come from Sam Hilliard, a BIA official. Barred were consultants to the Yavapai and reporters from area press. Officers stood at the entrance to the tribal council hall.

"When we started these meetings," tribal chairman Clinton Pattea explains, "we decided they would be open. But following the last meeting, the Government said it wanted the meetings closed."

Hiawatha Hood vehemently denied the BIA's assertion that they had closed the meeting at the request of tribal officials. "We want the press there," Hood said. "We want the publicity. We want the people here to hear us and what we want."

Past tribal chairman Andrew Johnson also protested the closure order. "You should leave too," he told the BIA officials. "You're the real outsiders."

Opponents of the project have said that much of the CAP water will be used to irrigate large desert farms owned by politically powerful out-of-state agribusinesses. They say there is enough water to supply municipal needs of Phoenix and Tucson well into the next century.

Ironically, there is another matter which might stop the dam. While the U.S. doesn't have laws which protect native people, it does have a law that protects eagles — the Endangered Species Act of 1973. Since the area is the home of most of Arizona's 30 bald eagles, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service officials may recommend that the habitat be protected.

BuRec officials have already geared into action to begin construction of the dam by January, 1977.

The dam would be 190 feet high, and a mile long. Construction has already begun on aqueducts for CAP. The Yavapai would be left with a sliver of desert on either side of the dam's backwaters. Covered by the waters would be 178 archeological sites.

Pugh sounds almost threatening as he criticizes the opposition. "If we don't build the dam, someone else will," he claims. "If we don't build the dam, then there'll be a sorry bunch of Indians. We're doing all we can to make the project benefit them, and with or without the dam, their culture is pretty much destroyed already."

And he is convinced that the Yavapai will approve the deal. "They say they don't want to sell their land," he explains. "Well, we go through this with every property owner. No one wants to give up his land for eminent domain and everybody yells and hollers about it. But they grab the check out of your hands when you bring it around. They are mighty happy to see all that money."



— Scottsdale Daily Progress photo
A Yavapai woman reads of U.S. plans for her life

But the Yavapai never have lived much like the white folks. The first telephone wasn't installed on the reservation until 1967, and the first road was paved a few years before.

To fight the dam, the Yavapai have retained attorneys from the Native American Rights Fund.

While Pugh is careful to assure the Yavapais that the result of the referendum will determine the fate of the dam, other federal officials assure supporters of the dam there is no need to worry. They point to the act passed by the U.S. Congress in 1968 giving the project "eminent domain" — meaning the U.S. will assume it has the right to evict the Yavapai if necessary.

Unlike most native nations, the Yavapai do not have a treaty establishing their ownership of their reservation. Instead, it was granted to them by executive order of President Theodore Roosevelt in 1903.

"Theodore Roosevelt gave my grandfather his land forever, and no dam is going to take it away now," John Williams, a 72-year-old Yavapai says, his voice becoming louder and louder as he warms to the subject. "This is our home. We're not coming from one place and ready to move on to someplace else like the whites." Finally, in a shout, he concludes: "I'll stay right here and let them cover me up with their water!"

A great champion of native rights is buried in the Yavapai cemetery. He is Dr. Carlos Montezuma. His life-story is of the stuff hero movies are made: he was captured as a little boy, sold, taken to Chicago, educated, became a famous surgeon, and a strong spokesman for native people. He became a thorn in the side of the BIA through his newspaper, *Wassaja*, in which he encouraged people to stand up for their rights.

One of his last struggles before he returned to Fort McDowell to die was when the U.S. tried to relocate his people. His efforts prevailed in Congress, and the Yavapai were allowed to remain at Fort McDowell — until CAP came along.

The reservation is a spot of beauty and wildlife, and a suit has been filed by environmentalists and taxpayers in U.S. District Court in Phoenix calling for a halt in construction until an Environmental Impact Statement has been completed.

Letters concerning the Yavapai demands that they keep their lands should be directed to the U.S. Government, and mailed in care of:

*Carolina Butler
Committee to Save Fort McDowell
11837 N. Paradise Drive
Scottsdale, Arizona 85254*

[Thanks to High Country News, Bill Harris of the Tricity Herald and United Tribes News; to Steve Nickeson and Race Relations Reporter; Tom Turner, editorial writer for the Arizona Daily Star; National Courier, Chris Shuey of the Scottsdale Daily Progress; Bill Richards of the Washington Post; Steve Wynkoop of the Denver Post, and Ben A. Franklin for the New York Times for the information here and on water rights.]

Stripmining : The Complete Destroyer

Stripmining is total assault on the land. It uproots and destroys every plant and drives out every creature. Once the earth is pushed aside, the coal is exposed and loosened by explosives. When the coal has been lifted out and carried away, a yawning pit remains that may be as much as 200 feet deep. The land has been completely destroyed. The piled earth is subject to dangerous landslides, and erosion and acid or alkaline drainage destroys the streams and rivers as life-supporting waters.

Reclaiming this land is virtually impossible — despite the money coal companies spend on public relations propaganda saying they can fix the land better than the Creator did the first time around. Of about 1.8-million acres of stripped land, only 56,000 acres have been reclaimed in any way at all.

This is the process that corporations, through the Department of Interior, wish to bring onto the land of Western native nations. The struggle for native resources continues, and the present weapon of attack is the strip shovel, gasification plant, and the bait is money.

In the early 1970s, the stripmining of Black Mesa on the Hopi-Navajo joint-use area, and the building of the Four Corners Power Plants which threatens to give the extraordinarily pure clear Arizona/New Mexico/Colorado/Utah air a pollution level twenty times that of Los Angeles, was a major issue for environmentalists and native people. That opposition failed — the stripping of Black Mesa continues.

On the Northern Plains, the lands of the Cheyenne and Crow people are facing strip-mined destruction, and as the lands go, so do the People.

The Northern Cheyenne walked more than a thousand miles, facing blizzards, malaria, starvation, and 10,000 soldiers just to return to the land they loved in eastern Montana 97 years ago. Today, they are organizing to wage an unprecedented battle for their lands, homes, and ways of life against oil companies. Joining them are descendants of white frontiersmen who forced the Cheyennes off their land in the name of progress and profit only to find themselves victims of the same process, for the same reasons, a few generations later.

Strip-mine legislation passed by the U.S. Congress in 1975 would have offered some protection, but U.S. President Gerald Ford refused to sign it into law.

The peoples of the Northern Plains have a fierce fight on their hands, because under the plains of Montana and Wyoming lie about 1.5-trillion tons of coal. Much of the coal lies under the lands of native peoples — particularly the Northern Cheyenne, Crow, and Fort Peck peoples, and the Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota.

Straddling the Montana/Wyoming border is the richest coal concentration in the region, the Colstrip-Gillette area. Through pressure and outright deception by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, a startling 56% of the reservation's total acreage is covered by coal leases — leases very loosely-worded about little details such as reclamation standards.

The BIA is supposed to be the legal protector of Indian resources. It must approve all tribal permits or leases. In 1966, it brought coal companies to the Northern Cheyenne Tribal Council, encouraging it to sign a total of eleven "exploratory permits". What they did not tell the Cheyennes was that if coal was discovered, the tribal council was bound to sign leases permitting mining, and if the mining occurred, it was bound to allow such developments as company towns, gasification plants, railway lines.

Some experts believe that the area — one of the few places in the U.S. where you can still get some sense of how it was before the European men came — will become the largest industrial development in the world.

Then there is the matter of water. Shipping the coal back east through pipelines and the cooling of the power plants require large amounts of water, a precious commodity in a region where the average rainfall is 14 inches per year. The water is to be carried through a complex system of aqueducts from the Bighorn, Yellowstone, Tongue and Powder Rivers.

Most Cheyennes were uninformed about the terms of the leases. But when Peabody and AMAX companies exploration crews appeared, drilling in Indian burial grounds and disrupting Indian lives, friction and unrest developed rapidly. Fearful for their future existence, a number of Cheyennes formed the Northern Cheyenne Landowner's Association to oppose the coal development.

After public meetings and deliberations, the Northern Cheyennes consulted the Native American Rights Fund for legal help. Eventually, the tribal council was convinced that it should tell the BIA to declare all existing exploration permits and leases null and void because of illegalities they contained.

What is happening to the Crow People of southeastern Montana is an example of the U.S. unquenchable hunger for energy as the current implement used for the continued taking of native lands.

The Crow Reservation was created at the Treaty of Fort Laramie in 1851. Crow Country was bound by the Powder River on the east, by the lofty Wind River Mountains on the south, by the majestic Rockies on the west, and by the "Big River", the Missouri, on the north. That territory comprises a quarter of the state of Montana, and a third of Wyoming, including parts of Yellowstone National Park. While this Crow Nation was a reduction of the original territory, it still consisted of 38,381,174 acres.

That would be ample space for a self-sufficient Crow Nation. But additional treaties and Congressional Acts have diminished the size to its present-day area of 2,226,000 acres, a 94% reduction over a 125-year period. In fact, as late as 1937, the town of Hardin was withdrawn from the reservation by Congress without reason or compensation. This land shrinkage is even more significant when the fact emerges that 45% of the reservation is owned by non-Indians.

Now with the arrival of the coal and oil companies, the land base is to be cut by 20% or more.

The Crow-owned resources are considerable — roughly 17-billion tons of low-sulfur sub-bituminous coal, a quarter of which are economically recoverable now. The remaining coal will wait until prices rise to make its mining feasible.



— Michael Crummett / AKWESASNE NOTES photo

Explosives are fired to shatter the coal at Westmoreland Resources' strip-mining operations along Sarpy Creek in the ceded area of the Crow Reservation.

Between 1968 and 1970, the Crow Council, through the advice of the U.S. Geological Survey and at the encouragement of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, offered their coal reserves to the energy conglomerates at three separate coal sales. As a result, Westmoreland Resources Company, Ayrshire Coal Company (AMAX) and Shell Oil hold leases, while Gulf Mineral Resources and Peabody Coal Company hold permits which can convert to leases.

Westmoreland is the only company now mining, starting in 1974. As required by the National Environmental Policy Act [NEPA] of 1969, an Environmental Impact Study [EIS] had to be filed. However, the BIA said that an EIS was not necessary for Indian land leasing, until a court case, *Davis v. Morton* [1972] forced the BIA to file an EIS.

Despite the fact that the Crow Council adopted a resolution on July 13, 1974, which declared all of the permits and leases null and void, the BIA released another EIS in January, 1975. This one plotted the entire scheme of things to be in Crow Country, calling for total coal development of nearly all of the available reserves. The projected exploitation of coal proposed both low and high levels of coal production and utilization — at low level, the coal would be strip-mined and shipped to Midwestern utilities and at high level, the coal would supply mine-mouth power, gasification and liquefaction plants to produce electricity, methane gas, synthetic oils and gasoline. The design was extremely biased in favor of the energy conglomerates, and biased against any possibility of the Crow People developing or using their own resources.

The impacts of such development would have devastating results upon the human environment. The non-native labor force influx was forecasted to be at least 43,280. With approximately 4500 enrolled Crows living on their reservation, they would become a 10% minority in their only homeland. Culture, lifestyle, language would be lost, and the Crows could become a landless, cultureless people.

When the Interior Department ignored the Crow Council's resolution cancelling leases, the Crows had to bring suit against the Secretary of the Department of Interior on September 19, 1975. The suit addressed itself to a profound conflict of interest in the Interior Department between the responsibility it feels to execute national energy policies, and its responsibility to be trustee for the U.S. of the Crow Nation's resources and people.

The suit specifies countless violations of the Code of Federal Regulations — each one of the permits exceeded the 2560-acre limitation. Technical exams were not performed, bonding requirements, exploration plans, operational and expenditure reports, and corporate papers were not filed; there were preferential and exclusive options to lease; unauthorized extensions were approved. Most significantly, the Crow land owners were not consulted.

Five months after the lawsuit was filed in U.S. District Court in Washington, D.C., it was dismissed on a technicality: the four companies had to be named as parties to the action. In other words, the original defendants, Interior and the BIA, were crying out for the assistance of the powerful corporate attorneys. So in February, 1976, the Crow Tribe of Indians refiled their lawsuit, this time in U.S. District Court in Billings, Montana.

The Crows have established their own Office of Coal Research to compile objective data concerning the physical, economic, socio-political and legal aspects of

coal mining on their lands. It has, in turn, informed the Crow People of its findings, providing a means for the people and their council to make educated decisions concerning the use or non-use of the coal reserves.

The Office of Coal Research has surveyed the Crow People to determine their sentiments about mining — 81% said they favored an indefinite moratorium on all coal-related development. The OCR has also sponsored two trips to the Four Corners area of the Southwest so the people could see the ravages of stripmining at the Navajo and Black Mesa Mines, and the pollution of the Four Corners Power Plant. In addition to receiving the pro-development public relations tours of the corporations, the visiting Crows met with concerned Navajos like Emma Yazzie and Harris Arthur as well as with traditional Hopi.

AMAX, Gulf, Peabody and Shell have not taken any of this lightly. Their high-pressure tactics have intensified beyond belief. Shell recently flew Patrick Stands Over Bull, the tribal council chairman, and a hand-picked entourage to Houston for an all-expense-paid trip to meet with top Shell officials in an effort to hammer out an attractive deal. Upon his return, the Chairman had offers from Shell — and AMAX and Gulf as well.

The companies are pursuing the divide-and-conquer technique, taunting Crow families with money and more money — there is an up-front offer from Shell of \$6,000,000 in the form of \$500 for each enrolled Crow if the Council would eliminate Shell from the lawsuit.

On May 8, Patrick Stands Over Bull was re-elected to a second term as council chairman. To him falls the responsibility of dealing with the aggressive, experienced, industrial negotiators. But backed by his people and his ancestors, he has his own words as a warning: "If the proposed development is not controlled, the Crow People in fifty years could fade into the sunset as a landless, cultureless, and powerless people."

[This article contains an adaptation of a special story for AKWESASNE NOTES by Michael S. Crummett to whom we are grateful.]

Washington State Officials Ignore Court Decision Supporting Native Rights

Neah Bay, Washington — The Makah Nation here on the northwestern tip of the U.S. mainland celebrated on February 12, 1974, when U.S. District Court Judge George C. Boldt issued a decision. They and other Washington Treaty Peoples were not only guaranteed enjoyment of treaty rights, but were further entitled to 50% of all fish caught in the "usual and accustomed" fishing areas.

But louder than the rejoicing of the native people was the uproar of non-native commercial and sports fishermen of the entire Pacific Northwest. Every non-native fishing association hired teams of lawyers to combat the landmark decision of Judge Boldt. The furor was fired by inaccurate information printed in the established press. Moves were made to "Impeach Boldt". Other groups threatened to ignore the law.

To native people who for years had been urged to have faith in the justice of the courts, to take legal channels, it seemed strange when they did this — and won — that those who had urged them along now were demanding that the U.S. Congress overturn the court's decision by passing new legislation.

In January, the U.S. Supreme Court decided to let Judge Boldt's decision stand. Boldt had held that the state could regulate Indian fishing only to the extent necessary to conserve fish runs, and even then, subject to federal court approval. He also found that the Quinault and Yakima Nations had adopted their own fishing conservation rules which could be applied independent of any state regulation. In addition, he found that non-native fishermen were taking such large amounts of fish downstream from the traditional fishing grounds that the native fishermen didn't stand a chance — thus he held that the native groups had a right to catch 50% of the fish.

Sports and commercial fishermen had called the decision unfair because it "gave too much to too few".

Actually, the native people had taken the case into court only as a last resort. "The necessity was forced on us by the recalcitrance of the State to write its laws and enforce them with a sensitivity to Indian rights as guaranteed in the treaties," says Leo J. LaClair, executive director of the Small Tribes Organization of Western Washington [STOWW].

LaClair called upon state Game and Fisheries Department officials to work together with the native people to develop the fisheries. "There is an opportunity now for us to work out problems together in a spirit of real brotherhood under the law," he said. STOWW involves about 12,500 native people who work together for political strength.

To counteract the rising storm of opposition to native rights, the Makah Tribal Council has embarked on a public education campaign to show such activities as their \$7-million Makah National Fish Hatchery on the

Sooes river which will plant 10-million salmon and trout in Washington rivers and streams annually.

State officials also were smarting sharply after losing another decision. U.S. District Court Judge Marshall A. Neill ruled in Spokane recently that the State of Washington has no right to regulate fishing on the



— Northwest Passage

1.3-million acres of reservation land owned by the Colville Confederated Tribes. That action came after state officials arrested four non-Colvilles fishing on a reservation lake with only tribal fishing licenses. The state contended that tribal regulations applied only to Indians, and that they had authority over non-Indians on the reservations.

Non-Indian land-owners have tried to organize opposition to any spread of tribal authority. Recently, House Bill 1275 was introduced in the Washington State Legislature which would return civil and criminal jurisdiction over Indian lands to the native people completely. Governor Evans has said publicly that if this should happen, he would consider the feasibility of buying Indian land and redrawing the reservation boundaries to "protect" large white communities and towns subjected to Indian jurisdiction.

Despite Judge Boldt's decision, state officials continue to harass native fishermen. Seattle police had to be called in to help state fisheries officers who were using guns to hold at bay two Muckleshoot persons they wanted to arrest. A Coast Guard cutter had to be sent to Hood Canal to help fisheries patrolmen, deputy sheriffs, and state troopers caught in a fight between a non-Indian fishermen and Skokomish.

More fuel was added to the fire when state Attorney General Slade Gorton said that Republicans should demand in their campaign platform that the U.S. Congress buy native fishing rights, by condemnation if necessary.

"We're not ready to sell," Ramona Bennett, Puyallup tribal head, said angrily when she heard of Gorton's speech. "When you sell your rights, you have sold yourself, and the Indians are not for sale."

Another state official, Game Department assistant director Jack Wayland, said he was hopeful that Congress would vote to change the treaties.

One of the main strongholds for native fishing rights for many years now has been Frank's Landing. There Al Bridges and the Frank family went to jail scores of times — Bridges had over 75 arrests — over their right to fish. Last November, what the *Seattle Times* called a "small army" of assorted law enforcement agents converged on Indian fishers at Frank's Landing to confiscate their gear, make arrests, and do battle.

The police contingent consisted of fisheries and game department patrolmen, state troopers, and deputy sheriffs from both Pierce and Thurston Counties. Allison Bridges Gottfridson, a veteran of the fishing struggle, was arrested after she wrapped herself in a fishing net to prevent officers from confiscating it as they had with 18 other nets.

The following day, Sid Mills, another Frank's Landing activist and director of Survival of American Indians Association, was challenged to a fistfight by Sandy Miller, ex-fisheries patrolman and now assistant enforcement chief. After Mills trounced him in an honorable and fair fight overseen by both native people and policemen, Miller ordered Mills clubbed and handcuffed. When Mills' wife, Suzette Bridges, protested his arrest, the police set upon eight people with Mace.

Earlier in November, Skokomish people clashed with fisheries officers to protect their nets from confiscation. Again people were clubbed and Mace at gunpoint. The Skokomish have filed charges of police brutality.

SAIA members said it was the seriousness of these threats and attacks that force them to embark on a national campaign appealing to the conscience of the U.S. people to bring about justice for native people. That campaign is featuring its own caravan to accompany the Bi-Centennial wagon train on its journey for Philadelphia by July 4.

TRAIL OF SELF-DETERMINATION CARAVAN HEADS TOWARD U.S. CAPITAL IN SERIOUS EFFORT TO BRING CHANGES

A caravan called the Trail of Self-Determination, composed of participants in the 1972 Trail of Broken Treaties and other supporters, is making its way across the U.S. "one step behind" the Bicentennial Wagon Train which left winter storage in Cheyenne, Wyoming, in late March.

The 1972 activists had left a list of Twenty Points in Washington, some of which called for changes to be made by July 4, 1976. They say they are on their way back to Washington to get the answer. The move is being coordinated by Sid Mills, executive director of the Survival of American Indians Association.

Federal officers and Wyoming State Patrol amassed a squad to deal with the "Indian scare" for the Wagon Train's departure, but there were no hints of difficulties. However, the Indian caravan has been kept under constant surveillance by state and federal agents.

The Trail group was accompanied by participants from El Centro de la Raza de Seattle. Robert Maestas said the Chicanos were providing support, but also are directly concerned with their own treaties — the treaty rights in the 1948 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

The caravan stopped in Lawrence, Kansas, for a week-long series of conferences and workshops at Haskell Indian Junior College. By then, numbers had grown to over a hundred.

The caravan moved on to Kansas City's Penn Valley Park, where city officials said they would not hassle them even though their stay was contrary to city ordinance. "We're tremendously pleased with the Indian and Chicano response here," said Roberto Maestas.

One of the problems the caravan had was that their very presence in a community was "news", and the



Kansas City Times photo
An inverted flag, the universal distress signal, flew above the Trail of Self-Determination encampment in Kansas City

media centered on photos of tipis in the parks and how a local resident had donated firewood and how city officials were reacting. Georgia George said that the caravan wanted to talk about the situation native people had in their relations with the Bureau of Indian Affairs — that was what they wanted in the press, not talk about portable toilets.

The Kansas City commissioners also seemed to have trouble taking the caravan seriously. In justifying why he didn't oppose the Indian group using the Penn

Valley Park, but was against having it used by demonstrators at this summer's Republican National Convention, Carl Migliazzo said "the Indians were part of the Bicentennial, but the demonstrators would be political."

Gene Heavy Runner, a Blackfoot from Montana, said the members of the caravan didn't regard themselves as messiahs, but rather as messengers of the truth. While the caravan calls for the dismantling of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, it sees itself as a spiritual movement. "Our spiritual heritage is all that has kept what remains of the Indian way of life alive," he says.

Heavy Runner noted that support for the self-determination movement was strongest among young Indians, caught up in the activism of the last decade, and among the older people, who still have touch with the traditional values. The middle generation, he said, the ones now running tribal councils, have been so assimilated by bureaucracy that they are, he says, consciously or unconsciously part of the BIA.

Heavy Runner described these times as "critical" because of the vast resources of coal, oil, and timber on native lands in the West. He said the BIA would lease these lands out with or without tribal approval unless the self-determination movement succeeds.

When the caravan reached St. Louis, it set up its tipis at the foot of the Gateway Arch, after first being ejected by National Park Service officials. Later, however, the NPS issued a "special camping permit" in order to avoid "conflict or disruption."

The Bicentennial Wagon Train, meanwhile, had been loaded on barges to be floated along inland waterways to Pittsburg, where it would again hit the trail to Valley Forge.

"TO ME, THE LAND IS SACRED"

Chiloquin, Oregon — Edison Chiloquin's struggle to keep Klamath land in Klamath hands received a boost this spring when U.S. Forest Service officials gave him permission to build a traditional village, including earth lodges on ancestral lands of his family and People.

The Forest Service has agreed to close off 800 acres from public access for the encampment, and the Chiloquins are inviting traditional people to help them in their work this summer.

In May, Chiloquin kindled a sacred fire which he vowed to keep going until the land of his grandfather's village was restored to his people.

In 1864, the United States of America had signed a treaty acknowledging that 1.3-million acres of scenic richly-forested land belonged to the Klamaths. Then, in 1954, a Termination Act simply liquidated the land rights. Edison Chiloquin is the only Klamath to refuse payment — a check for \$108,000 waits for him in the U.S. National Bank of Oregon.

"To me, the land is sacred — the money can't replace it," Chiloquin explains.

The Termination Act gave Klamaths the choice of individually selling their claim to part of the reservation, or retaining land under a trust arrangement. 22% of the Klamaths eligible chose land instead of cash.

U.S. National was made trustee by the Government. It planned to develop an "ideal forest over a thirty-year period." By that time, said forestry management expert Robert Mezger, "we can cut 40-million board feet indefinitely." True as that may be, the shareholders in this multimillion-dollar estate — the Klamath People — had no say in what the bank did with their land.

Klamaths felt the bank did such a bad job of trusteeship that in the late 1960s, the Klamaths voted to terminate the trust arrangement with the bank. The intention was to find a new trustee — but this never happened. The trust was ended, and the land was put up for sale to a large lumber company. Public outrage destroyed this plan, but the U.S. Congress moved in to make the land part of the Winema National Forest. The Klamaths didn't have anything to say about the arrangement.

Most of those Klamaths who took cash in the 1950s went through tens of thousands of dollars in a matter of days. Salesmen and slickers were lined up for miles, sometimes getting agreements signed so that Klamaths were broke even before they received their one-time-only checks.

The total pay-off, made December 4, 1974, was \$49-million, almost enough to buy the entire city of Klamath Falls. Local merchants reminded the Indians that Coupe de Villes and snowmobiles were ready for delivery. Mobile home dealers, jewelers, haberdashers swelled their inventories.

However, this time a financial advisory service was set up to prevent disastrous spending sprees. Everyone has their favorite story about the months of drunken brawls and exploitation by businessmen after the 1961 booty was disbursed. One woman is said to have bought a new Oldsmobile, forgot where she parked it, and so she bought another one.

Not all the Klamaths were frivolous then, nor were they this time. Ten persons went together and became half-owner of the Klamath Falls Town and Country Shopping Center, for instance.

But while the Klamaths picked up their checks one by one, at the end of the day, only one was untouched — a voucher for Edison Chiloquin in the sum of \$103,594. Most everyone assumed that Chiloquin, the Klamath's last traditional chief, would come for it later.

But weeks passed. The check sits in a bank drawer. Chiloquin says to accept it would be like "selling my people, my dead people." He remains at home where he and his wife, Leatha, keep two wood-burning stoves stocked with logs to heat their white frame house that blends into a hillside of ice, lava rock, and austere tree limbs. In summer, the Chiloquins eat and sleep on the ground under an 18-foot-tall tipi hand-sewn by Leatha.

The land he wants restored to his people is an area called the Arrowhead, bounded by a 3½-mile bend of the Sprague River. When Edison's grandfather, Tselakin, lived, the Arrowhead was the center of the Plaikni Nation, the correct name for the Klamaths.

Edison Chiloquin was born in Chiloquin, educated in the Catholic school there, and then went off to the South Pacific to fight in World War II. He returned



Edison Chiloquin

with wounds and medals, the most-decorated GI from this region of southern Oregon. But glory did not get him a job. After the war, Edison lived out the sad experience of many of his generation — fighting in bars, falling unconscious on sidewalks, spending time in jails.

Then one day, Edison went up a hill where he liked to be alone, and smashed a bottle of booze on a rock. His wife, Leatha, says that since that time he has not had a drink. And for the last eight years, the Chiloquins have been working to restore the traditional ways and to reclaim the land that was the source and sustenance of their people.

His dream is to maintain the Arrowhead perpetually as Klamath land, recreating his grandfather's old village at Ktai-Tupaksi (Standing Rock). "I want traditional Indian people to be able to live there in the traditional way while the knowledge of the Old Ways is still in our mind and heart."

[This article is adapted from one by Stephen Most, copyrighted 1976 by Pacific News Service. Most, a playwright, is the author of a soon-to-be-produced play on the Modoc wars.]

STILLAGUAMISH AND SILETZ TRY TO REVERSE TERMINATION NIGHTMARE

The Klamaths are not the only people in the Northwestern United States having trouble with federal recognition. Since the mid-1920s, Esther Ross has struggled to have the U.S. say they acknowledge the existence of the Stillaguamish People.

In 1855, Governor Isaac Stevens negotiated treaties with many native peoples of what is now western Washington. One of the tribes included in the Treaty of Point Elliott was the Stoluchwamish People who lived along the Stillaguamish River — the name of the river came to be the name of its people. The treaty caused them to give up their lands, in exchange for promises of aid and assistance, retention of their right to fish throughout the same area as they had in the past, and a future reservation. Few of the promises were kept.

Despite the treaty, the Stillaguamish People continue to live in their former area, maintaining family and tribal ties, and meeting together to discuss common problems. But for some reason, the United States Government does not consider the Stillaguamish as being "Indian."

The Secretary of Interior of the U.S. refuses to recognize them as a tribe, although he has failed to give any reasons for his refusal. That recognition is more than a formality — an incredibly complicated bureaucratic mess might be straightened out if the tribe were recognized. For instance, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals recently affirmed that the Stillaguamish Tribe is entitled to fishing rights, but charged it to regulate its own fishing responsibly. Other peoples included in the sweep of the treaty-rights case are eligible to receive U.S. assistance in the form of biological advice, training for tribal law enforcement officers, and other programs. However, there is no aid at all for the Stillaguamish — they are not "recognized", officials tell them.

At one point, the Interior Department said that the reason for the non-recognition was because the Stillaguamish did not have tribal lands. To remedy this, chief Gus Smith willed his land to his people to be used for tribal purposes. After his death, however, the Secretary of Interior refused to accept the land in trust as a reservation. His reason — you guessed it: the Stillaguamish couldn't be recognized because they didn't have land.

In 1965, the Indian Claims Commission found that the Stillaguamish Tribe was entitled to some \$48,000 compensation for lands taken from them for which they were inadequately compensated. But that money

is still in the U.S. Treasury. The Stillaguamish People have voted to use the money to acquire land for tribal purposes, but the Secretary of Interior refuses to let them do so, insisting that they take individual checks. Again, the reason is the same, he says: only recognized tribes can take money for tribal purposes, and until the Stillaguamish have land, they can't be recognized.

"Recognition" is a simple act of putting pen to paper by the Secretary. This has been urged by the National Congress of American Indians, Washington's Governor Dan Evans, and even the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Still, the recognition never comes. Finally, last October, the Stillaguamish took the Secretary of Interior to court, charging that his inaction is unlawfully denying them recognition. That case is yet to be decided.

The Stillaguamish took an action last year that made headlines. When the wagon train set out from the Pacific Coast destined for Valley Forge this summer in celebration of the Bicentennial, it was stopped by the Stillaguamish People as the caravan passed their tribal office. They said they would not allow the train to proceed until they had action. A personal re-



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Esther Ross blocks the Bicentennial Wagontrain

presentative of the Secretary of Interior, Roy Sampsel, was dispatched from Portland, Oregon. Sampsel assured the Stillaguamish that action would be taken on their request within thirty days if they would let the Bicentennial Project continue on its way. That was last June, and still no answer from the U.S.

Still another situation: a five-acre parcel of land



containing a cemetery where many of the Stillaguamish ancestors are buried was sold to a non-Indian. The sale price was \$1,400, but when the Stillaguamish wanted to buy the land back, the price had skyrocketed to \$75,000. The Bureau of Indian Affairs says it can't help — the Stillaguamish, remember, aren't "recognized".

For fifty years now, Esther Ross has been trying to do battle over this matter, a battle with a marshmallow bureaucracy. She's hoping for public support in her struggle — and she wants to see victory in her lifetime.

Another terminated people are the Confederated Tribes of Siletz, descendants of tribes and bands along Oregon's Pacific Coast. They were guaranteed large chunks of Western Oregon in the 19th Century, but by 1954, that had dwindled to 7,900 acres. Now the Siletz have ten acres. The original area included some of Oregon's best salmon and steelhead spawning rivers — Siletz, Siuslaw, Yaquina, Salmon, Nestucca.

The Siletz, too, are seeking to have the U.S. recognize them once more, as it has done for the Menominees. "Termination was a definite hard blow," says Pauline Ricks, a tribal member. Without the right to federal benefits accruing from hard-won treaty settlements, health care declined, unemployment rose, and the educational level of the Siletz community dwindled. An exodus began as people left the area to seek employment elsewhere.

Now, however, the Siletz have hopes in a bill in the U.S. Congress which will restore recognition. The bill is sponsored in the Senate by Mark Hatfield.

Brazil & Canada, Policy: "The Indian cannot be allowed to impede development."

Brazil and Canada's Northwest Territories are miles apart in more ways than one. And yet in both places, the native people of these formerly-inaccessible lands are facing dire consequences if they do not move aside so corporate interests and governments can exploit their lands and resources.

In Brazil, the method may be more blatantly violent. In Canada, the methods are cloaked in the subtle trappings of centuries of British colonialism. But in both places, the results are the same for the native people: their nations become destroyed.

The Brazilian situation has some disturbing parallels and implications for the threatening development of the Northwest Territories.

For the past decade, transnational corporations and other governments — including Canada — have taken control of the Amazon's rich resource base for a variety of mining, agricultural, forestry and energy projects — plus construction of highways, railroads, and seaports. Native people have had no role in decisions about the use of their lands and their development, and the typical colonial pattern has emerged in the Amazon with tragic consequences.

Some of those same multinational corporations — and, of course, the Canadian Government — are also involved in similar development in the North, and there too, the native people have no role in decisions. In fact, there are threats that the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline will be built regardless of whether or not there is a land settlement acceptable to the native people — a type of coercion that moves the situation of the North tragically closer to the realities of Brazil.

The Roman Catholic Church has been siding with the native people of the Amazon, providing significant opposition to relentless exploitation. In Canada, too, it has been the Catholic Bishops, together with the Anglican and United Churches, that have united in "Project North" to defend native rights to controlling their own destiny.

In both Brazil and Canada, the same type of government department is responsible for looking after the conflicting interests of both native rights and development. Although the Canadian Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development is supposed to be the trustee of native interests, it has been actively encouraging development in the North over native objections in favor of what it terms "the public interest".

The People & The Land: Living Together

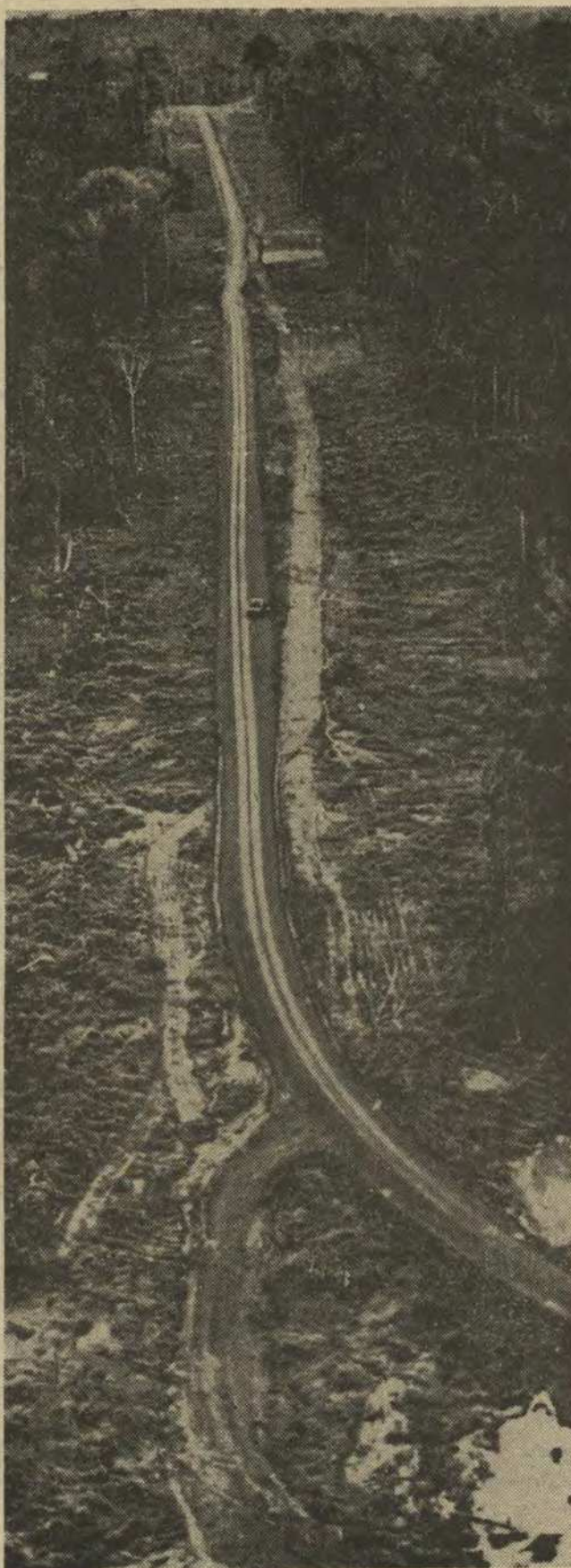
The Amazon region of Brazil constitutes an enormous land mass of 1.5-million square miles stretching across the entire north and northwest half of the country. For several thousand years, the Amazon basin and its surrounding regions have been the homeland for native peoples. In recent years, it has become recognized as one of the world's last untapped storehouses of mineral wealth, agricultural lands, and forests — one of the last cookies in the jar tempting the addicted minds of corporate stealers.

Through the centuries, the native people of the Amazon developed a collective culture and self-sufficient economy. When the Europeans arrived in the 15th Century, they found a dense and lively population in the Amazon, numbering from one to five million souls. By 1940, the estimate was 500,000 — and now the number is in the thousands.

Since time beyond memory, the native people of the Amazon, as elsewhere, have had a healthy relationship with the lands they inhabited, developing a culture in harmony with the environment. Unlike other societies of Europe where the land has become a commodity or necessary only for economic reasons, for native peoples, land is inalienable from the people. To separate native peoples from their land is to deny their being, to destroy their way of life, to disrupt the total social, cultural, spiritual, economic and political fabrics of the society.

The Amazon basin contains the world's largest reserves of iron ore and of tin. Other minerals include manganese, nickel, cobalt, tungsten and copper, chrome, phosphates, potassium, gold, diamonds, and other gems. The region holds potential for hydro-electric projects and substantial oil reserves. Then there is the timber of the forests which is being cut as vast tracts of land are being cleared primarily for cattle-raising.

Restrictive Brazilian policies kept the land from development but in 1964, a military coup took over, and in 1967, a new code was proclaimed favoring private foreign-based corporations. Over 20,000 mineral claims were filed in 1975, and corporation budgets just for exploration now exceed \$150-million annually. And it is thought that even all this activity is just skimming the surface.



Transamazon Highway: The Road to Destruction

In this, multinational corporations, sometimes participating in joint ventures, have played a decisive role. For construction of the Amazon road system, which includes the 3100-mile Trans-Amazon Highway, the Belem-Brazilia Highway, the Santarem-Cuiaba Highway, the Northern Perimeter Highway, and the Porto Velho Road, companies like Earth Satellite Corporation, Litton Industries, and Westinghouse conducted photographic aerial surveys. Komatsu (Japan), Fiat (Italy), General Motors, Caterpillar Brasil, J.I. Case, Eaton Corporation and others received contracts for \$172-million worth of earth-moving equipment.

U.S. Steel took on a joint venture for the production of iron-ore, and Bethlehem Steel is after manganese. Alcoa, Kaiser Aluminum, Rio Tinto Zinc and Hanna Mining are in bauxite. Royal Dutch Shell's Billiton Corporation, Rockefeller's W.R. Grace Co., and Portland Cement are after tin.

National Bulk Carriers, owned by D. Keith Ludwig, and Volkswagen Brazil are into cattle-raising and forestry development.

And the native people are spectators or opponents of their own destruction.

Neither are the people of Brazil beneficiaries. Tax money is used to provide basic infrastructures such as the highways, and the materials mined are usually exported through the global market system, which manufactures goods which are sent to Brazil at fancy prices. This is the colonial pattern of development whereby powerful corporations have taken control of both the people and the resources of the Amazon basin

— and the same pattern that is developing in the Canadian North.

Extermination of Native People

Periods of economic boom, such as rubber production, have always been accompanied by the extermination of native people of Brazil in large numbers.

Some people could escape by retreating into the remote regions of the Amazon. Today, however, there is no place to go. In the words of the former president of the National Indian Agency (FUNAI), "The Indian cannot be allowed to impede development."

Initially, "Indian Parks" or reservations were set up so native people could live undisturbed, even if on different land. But the new highway system was built to criss-cross the Indian Parks and the seventeen reservations of the Amazon basin.

The result is disaster. According to the director of the Xingu National Park, the construction of the BR-80 highway has brought "alcoholism, prostitution, adventurers, and those who destroy the environment." It has uprooted the Txukarramae People who lived in the park, and new diseases introduced during the construction phase wiped out scores of native families.

The Brazilian Government has utilized various tactics to free native lands for highway construction. "Garimpeiros" were hired to drive indigenous people away, and settlers were sent in to colonize the native territories. Rivers were dammed, animals killed.

Even the president of FUNAI admitted in a speech to the legislative assembly in Mato Grosso that the Waimiri-Atrorari People are "suffering, persecuted communities, subjected to punitive expeditions by the Governor of the State, at which time they were decimated and are now confined to a tiny territory which they are defending tooth and nail."

In order to settle in the area, corporations receive government documents certifying that there are no native people on the land. However, although the certification has been given, there are dozens of indigenous villages in the region. Native people who have been removed often try to return, and pay for this with their lives. The son of the former minister of the Interior, Costa Cavalcanti, has economic interests here.

When the Brazilian Government in 1971 announced major development of tin mines in Rondonia, no consideration was given to native peoples — it was simply assumed that they would have to be driven away. Among the corporations who moved in was Canada's Brascan.

The Cintas Largas and Surui Nations, who for centuries had lived in relative isolation at the headwaters of the Aripuana River in Rondonia, were suddenly faced with the possibility of extinction. In 1971, the two peoples agreed to resettle in Aripuana Park, where they were assured of government protection.

Several months later, the Brazilian Government began selling parcels of land in the Park to settlers, and permission was granted to multinational corporations to continue exploration of park land. The highway was even extended through the Park.

The final blow came in 1973 when it was announced that the Park would be reduced to one-third its original size.

One of the companies profiting from this exploitation of native peoples was Royal Dutch Shell's subsidiary, Billiton. Billiton has a Canadian subsidiary, Shell Canada, which has extensive mining claims in the Northwest Territories Nahanni area, and is a member of the Arctic Gas consortium.

In the upper Amazon territory of Roraima, exploration for uranium has severely affected the Yanomami Nation. The governor of the territory states, "I am of the opinion that an area as rich as this — with gold, diamonds, and uranium — is not able to afford the luxury of conserving a half-a-dozen Indian tribes who are holding back development."

Government subsidies have helped companies like Swift-Armour-King Ranch to clear the land, construct storage facilities, and even harvest crops. The S-A-K Ranch occupies 180,000 acres in Paragonimas. That deal was complicated by the fact that the land had been designated as a reserve for the Kaapore and Tembe Nations. The Government simply transferred the land from federal to state control, in violation of national law, in order to complete the transaction.

The impact of these patterns of resource development has had tragic consequences. In theory, the Government's FUNAI is supposed to protect native people — but it also promotes the development of the Amazon. Like the Indian policy of other nations, it sounds good on paper: in its original statutes, FUNAI endorses the principles of the United Nations and the International Labour organization regarding human and minority rights. Its duties are stated to be "promoting respect

for tribal communities, guaranteeing the permanent possession of lands which Indians inhabit and the exclusive use of natural resources therein; defending the spontaneous acculturation of Indian communities; preserving the biological and cultural equilibrium of Indian communities in contact with national society.

That was 1968. By 1970, FUNAI began to change its policy and deviate from its charter, just as Canadian Government policy shifts from minister to minister, government to government, or as new laws are passed by Parliament.

In 1973, the Brazilian Government passed a new Indian Statute which virtually ignored the rights of native peoples, taking away rights to subsoil, and placing emphasis on programs for the "rapid integration" and "pacification" of tribal groups.

"Pacification" simply means taking steps to protect company and construction workers against the threat of retaliation by native people. "Integration" means removing native people from their lands to make way for multinational corporate operations. In one case of resettlement, the Yanamamo Nation of 10,000 persons was given a reserve where only 300 persons could possibly survive.



— W. Jesco Von Puttkamer/LNS photo
A Cinta Larga Man

The self-sufficient, thriving people of the Amazon are either dead, or reduced to a state of dependency and helplessness. A few are in a struggle of active resistance. Some have been forced into slavery, others are beggars or exotic tourist attractions. Those who migrated to Brazil's cities have become part of the massive urban poor.

The Nanbikwara's valley of Guapore is in private hands and native people are absent. "The situation of the Nanbikwara Indian is a national disgrace — this proves neither the law nor the constitution was respected," says Father Antonio Iasi, Jr., executive director of the Conselho Indigenista Missionario.

The script is a familiar one. Last September 29, for example, a Dr. Giselda, a geologist, Sr. Quirino, an agricultural surveyor, and other functionaries employed by FUNAI came to a Tapirape village, accompanied by Dr. Eduardo, one of the directors of the Tapiraguaia Company, and a head of Indian Affairs, Sr. Juraci Andrade. The visitors were aggressive and disrespectful to their hosts, creating confusion and fear. The Tapirape would be moved, the officials said, to Xingu Park. "We will not be moved from one place to another — we would rather die right here," one Tapirape replied. After terrorizing the people by their manner, the visitors left to meet with the director of the Hacienda Porto Velho, and the native group fears now the soldiers may come to move them out.

When the bishop, Dom Pedro, and CIMI president Tomas Balduino came to investigate the occurrence, Sr. Juraci announced that no priest would be permitted to enter the Tapirape village. Reports from the Paresi Nation indicate the same group of visitors also visited them with the same hostile attitude.

The atrocities in the Amazon have drawn attention away from southern Brazil, where there too native people are undergoing genocidal conditions.

Recently, Andila Inacio, a native woman at the Guarita Post in the state of Rio Grande do Sul, sent a letter to the President of Brazil, requesting that he cause the removal of 1500 families illegally settling on her

reservation. There has also been violence: Fabio de Almeida of the Ibirama post in the state of Santa Catarina was shot in the neck at point blank range by a military policeman following a violent clash between soldiers and forest people.

In southern Brazil, much of the natural vegetation and animals have been destroyed — excepting on the native people's lands, which remain in good condition. It has been the people who have suffered from their century of contact with "civilization" — the Kaingang, Xoclog, Guarani, Terena and Xetas are undernourished, impoverished, disoriented, and often must beg to survive.

The southern states of Sao Paulo, Parana, Santa Catarina, and Rio Grande do Sul contain 24 native posts, lumping together what remains of the native nations. About 9,000 are left. If the native people of the Amazon want to see what Brazil's "progressive policies of assimilation" have done to their relatives in the south, they will see one of the most painful indictments possible against those who would propose such policies.

The rich, unexhausted soil and hardwood forests of the southern reservations produce lush and plentiful foliage, and lumber companies have covetous eyes on their lands. Most of the rest of the area has been devastated where there were no native people left to keep Creation in balance.

At Ibirama in Santa Catarina, the invasion of the reservation was so blatant that Brazilian police sent in by FUNAI apprehended 22 tractors, 24 powersaws, and 15 trucks loaded with hardwood just in one day. Major Alipio Leivay reported that 38 lumber companies were caught red-handed trespassing within the reservation and laying waste to the entire area. One coveted tree is the sassafras. A few native people had been paid off to let the operations go on. These few have become wealthy, and employ white domestic maids, or own refrigerators and electric floor polishers, although there is no electricity.

In Rio Grande do Sul, the native posts at Serrinha and Ventura have disappeared completely due to the penetration of the invaders in native territories. Franklin Mader, who heads the Xapeco Post at Xanxere in Santa Catarina, reports constant threats upon his life from invaders, with whom he has had gunfights. Sons of settlers beat up and murder native persons because they "don't like Indians" — a statement which covers up their greed for land.

In the south, native reservations now total less than 675 square miles. It appears that the disappearance of native people from the land signals the amputation of mankind's most important roots. Such is the sponge which wipes clean the memory of civilized man so that he will not have to speak of the unnameable crimes which he committed against the native peoples.



The Canadian Connection

Directly and indirectly, the Canadian Government and Canadian-based corporations are involved in the colonial patterns. Of course, U.S. Government and firms are also there, but the links with the development of the Canadian North are not so clear.

Take Brascan, as an example. It is exploring mineral deposits and mining tin in Brazil. Through its interest in Swift-Armour, it holds agribusiness interests. In partnership with MacMillan Bloedel, it maintains a 250,000-acre tree farm in the State of Santa Catarina.

Or Alcan. It manages a 19% ownership in a joint venture with the Brazilian Government, Reynolds Metals, Billiton, and Rio Tinto Zinc to extract bauxite on the Trombetas River. It operates two smelters in Brazil, and is exploring more deposits.

Inco, in cooperation with German transnationals, operates Baminco, exploring nickel and copper projects. Noranda is involved with U.S. Steel and New Jersey Zinc (a division of Gulf and Western) to exploit zinc in Minas Gerais. Falconbridge maintains an exploration office there, as does Cominco.

Anglo-American Corporation, which owns Hudson's Bay Mining & Smelting is after gold. At the Government level, Canada's Geological Survey is setting up a comprehensive mineral exploration project. Roger Blake, Consul and Trade Commissioner in Rio de Janeiro, said, "This was the first step in what is hoped to be a continuing program of cooperation between two of the largest countries in the hemisphere and whose geological terrain is so similar." Funding for the \$11.2-million study is from the Canadian International Development Agency [CIDA]. The results of the studies go to the Brazilian Government, which in turn gives them to private corporations such as Inco — a neat way for the Canadian taxpayer to subsidize the large corporations.

That should be no surprise. The boards of directors of such companies as Alcan and Brascan often include members of the federal cabinet, government agencies, crown corporations, and major banking institutions. Mitchell Sharp, a federal minister, is on Brascan's board now, as is Robert Winters, a former minister, and Brascan's president is a member of the Canadian Development Corporation.

Scene Two: The Northwest Territories

Just as the Amazon region is recognized as one of the world's last untapped storehouses of mineral wealth, so the Northwest Territories is viewed as a resource hinterland for southern Canada and the industrialized world in general. For the native people of the North, however, their lands are essential to maintain their life. Yet, as in the Amazon, native people have no say in the massive development plans now in progress.

Even the actors are the same. Brascan has a 45% interest in Yava, and acts as operator for the Yava Syndicate in copper/lead/zinc exploration between Beachay and Casey Lakes, and also base-metal exploration near MacKay Lake. Through participation in Elf Canada Ltd., Brascan has oil and gas rights throughout the Northwest Territories, especially in the high Arctic. With a 12% interest in Magnorth Petroleum Ltd., Brascan is involved in 14.2-million offshore acres in Viscount, Melville, and Lancaster Sounds. Brascan Resources recently acquired controlling interest in Western Mines, which holds a lead-zinc property in the Pine Point area.

Inco, Falconbridge, Noranda, Cominco are all familiar names in the Northwest Territories, as in the Amazon. Shell Canada, Rio Tinto Zinc, U.S. Steel are also there.

The primary interest of these transnational corporations is in resource extraction for export at profitable rates, not the internal development of the area where the resources are found, nor for the people to whom the resources belong.

The Canadian Government has a role in the development that is direct and pronounced. But rather than providing for the development of the native people, it is providing public funds for high-risk high-cost frontier energy development.

Catholic Church officials recently appeared before the Berger Commission looking into the development of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline in the NWT. They demanded that the development of all major resources "be postponed until native people have control over the development process and there has been a just settlement of land claims with the Dene."

If this does not happen, the Berger Commission was told, "the experience of the Amazon is a living testimony of the tragic consequences that will arise from failing to achieve these basic objectives."

There is no question that the sentiments of the people are with the native people. Time and time again, earnest churchmen and public interest groups have joined native people in a constant refrain at the hearings: no pipeline until native land claims are settled.

A test balloon has already been sent up in the Yukon, a Canadian territory to the west of the territories. On May 28, the press revealed that native people of the Yukon had been offered total or part ownership in 18,500 square miles of land and about \$80-million in cash if they would give up all rights to their land.

The Alaskan model is to be used: the money would not go to individuals, but would go to native corporations. The deal had been negotiated by Digby Hunt, a special federal negotiator with a hardnosed reputation, and representatives of the Council of Yukon Indians. However, the full council was reportedly in session to depose those representatives for acting beyond their authority.

The agreement was denounced by George Manuel, president of the National Indian Brotherhood, who said the negotiations had been carried out in almost total secrecy with the four representatives, and the Yukon people, their council, and the National Indian Brotherhood had not been kept informed.

Manuel charged that the council chief, elderly Elijah Smith, was totally in the hands of Allan Lueck, an attorney. He said the draft agreement surrenders the political rights of Indians to control their own lives. "Our view is that aboriginal rights shouldn't be extinguished or terminated — they should be developed," he said.

Since 1973, negotiations on land claims didn't move anywhere. Then Hunt was dispatched last November. His plan is to give native people outright ownership of 1,200 square miles, which is about one-half of one per cent of the land in the Yukon. The land would be held by the native corporation. On another 15,000 acres, native people would have the right to hunt, trap and fish.

Native communities and individuals would have to buy their land, and its occupants would receive individual title — providing they have made improvements on them. Band councils would be abolished, and municipal government would be installed.

Once the deal is completed, paid for by tax money, the Government of Canada would then be free to allow corporations into the area to exploit timber, water, and mineral resources without worrying about time-consuming court battles with native people.

If the people of the Yukon and the NWT don't accept such expansive offers, some white people in the North talk openly of shooting Indians to erase the Indian land claims problem. The Brazilian solution.

It was a few minutes before 8 o'clock in the evening of March 2nd, 1972, and Leroy Shenandoah, a 32-year-old American Indian, was drinking beer with a dozen of his friends on the second-floor balcony of a shabby apartment house at the corner of Quince and Spruce Streets in center-city Philadelphia. The group had gathered to watch a film company shoot a car-chase sequence for a movie that would eventually be called Trick Baby.

Like the other Indians present that night, Shenandoah was a high construction worker, a "boomer", the Indians call it. Every day he walked high girders, laying beams, riveting, always a misstep from death. One view says Indians go into this work because they have a natural sense of balance and are fearless on high places. Others say Indians become boomers because it's one of the few decent-paying jobs open to them. In any case, the injury and mortality rate is high and the Indians know it. Shenandoah himself had survived a fall from the Verrazano-Narrows Bridge; his brother was nearly killed when he fell from the top of a shopping mall being constructed in northern New York.

Lee Shenandoah was the leader of the Indians on the balcony that night. Tall and powerfully built, he was foreman of a crew of boomers working in Philadelphia on the I-95 Bridge near Kennedy Stadium, and many of his crew had grown up with him on the Onondaga Reservation near Syracuse. A long way from home, their bridge-building assignment far from finished, it was a pleasant way to while away an evening, watching make-believe danger for a change.

They weren't the only ones waiting for the movie cars to come roaring up Quince Street. Hundreds of curious spectators, also attracted by the filming, had gathered at either end of the street. Police were on hand, ready to hold back traffic when the cars took off. Kleig lights illuminated the scene, making unnaturally pale the bronzed faces of the men on the balcony.

"Let's get the show on the road!" one of the Indians yelled down to Don Goldman, the movie company's production manager. The easy-going Goldman grinned and waved back.

Up on the balcony, young Norma Edwards, the wife of one of the construction workers, turned away from her husband to speak to Lee Shenandoah. Lee smiled at her. He was about to die.

"The Only Good Indian"
Philadelphia Magazine, Oct. 1973

The most famous Indian in Philadelphia history is a dead Indian.

His name was Leroy Shenandoah. He died in Philadelphia on March 2nd, 1972, at the hands of the police under circumstances that remain mysterious. His death led to front-page newspaper stories, to television documentaries, to a criminal trial that made national news, and to an aborted investigation by the United States Department of Justice. [His family received an out-of-court settlement of \$130,000 and all the other survivors an average of \$10,000. John Benedict, who was injured as Lee died, received \$65,000.]

[As Benedict] later described the fatal evening: "It was just more or less a joyous occasion." As they were waiting for the filming to continue, several Indians at the north end of the balcony 30 feet from Shenandoah threw an old mattress down on the street. Two policemen, Sergeant Thomas Rambo and Patrolman Albert Montanaro, rushed up the balcony to chase the Indians inside. At the south end, Officer Montanaro confronted Shenandoah, who refused to leave. Apparently Montanaro then prodded Shenandoah in the back with his nightstick, Shenandoah swung on him, a brief fight ensued, and moments later Shenandoah lay bleeding face down on the steps of the balcony, hit with six bullets from Montanaro's revolver. Next to him, also critically wounded, lay the 26-year-old Benedict. Shenandoah remained swath-

ed in his blood on the balcony for more than an hour afterward. At no time was he offered medical aid, despite the availability, within minutes, of a stretcher to take him to Jefferson Hospital. According to two medical experts contacted by Philadelphia Magazine, the wounds he received were not necessarily or immediately fatal.

The police version of the shooting claimed that Shenandoah, along with two other Indians, Benedict and another

John Benedict was brutally and neglectfully treated after he was shot, that the three other Indians were probably unnecessarily manhandled, and that the criminal charges filed against one defendant, Benedict, were malicious; that both the police department and the District Attorney's Office, then headed by Arlen Specter, knew when they brought him to trial, that he was almost certainly innocent.

"the quality of american justice"

A MEMORY FOR PHILADELPHIA IN THE BICENTENNIAL

man never identified, had lifted Officer Montanaro over the low railing of the balcony, and that Montanaro had been forced to shoot Shenandoah to save his own life. Benedict was arrested for his alleged role in the assault on Montanaro. Three other Indians, Maynard Gabriel, Marvin Crouse, and Raymond Moses, who did not take part in the Montanaro fight, were charged with assault of the other policeman, Sergeant Rambo.

In July, 1973, all four defendants were found not guilty at a jury trial which brought in a verdict after only 20 minutes of deliberation. One of the four, Benedict, received a directed verdict of acquittal because, as the trial judge explained it, the case against him was too poor to allow the jury to consider it.

The evidence brought out at the trial raised more questions about the conduct of the police that night than about the conduct of the Indians. As a result, about a month later, after more than a year of prodding by defense attorneys and by the office of Senator Edward Kennedy, the Justice Department began an investigation of possible violations of the Indians' civil rights by the police. In March, 1975, the Justice Department announced it had dropped the investigation. No charges against the police would be brought. The evidence, allegedly, was "contradictory."

Philadelphia Magazine learned that the Justice Department decision to drop the Shenandoah case was made despite the wishes of the attorney in charge of the investigation, Philip Fuoco. Fuoco wanted to take his case before a grand jury. Since grand juries invariably do what a prosecuting attorney tells them to do, this means Fuoco believed he could get indictment recommendations against one or more of the policemen involved.

Fuoco, in a fashion, however, defends the decision to drop the investigation. Speaking of how he was overruled, he says of his superiors: "Their arguments were somewhat convincing." One reason not to seek indictments, he says, was the age of the case. Three years have gone by, so they said, why go to a grand jury on that? If the kind of thing that went on that night is still going on, we'll ask for a good case now."

It was, of course, the Justice Department itself which first refused to investigate the case, and then, when it finally did, protracted the investigation over 18 months. It may be that the Department believes that if it can delay justice, it can deny it.

If so, it seems to be succeeding. Despite the Department, the preponderance of the evidence suggests that Leroy Shenandoah was brutally and neglectfully treated after he was shot, that

All of this evidence was available to the Justice Department. Most of it they chose to ignore; some of it they failed to follow up. Most of it has never before been published. For those interested in the quality of justice in America, it is worth considering.

From the beginning, it appears that the Justice Department investigation focused on charges that Shenandoah was kicked and thrown around by police after he was shot, and that medical aid was denied him that might have saved his life. Perhaps, if the department had focused as much on what happened to Benedict as on what happened to Shenandoah, it would have learned more than it wanted to about what happened to both men. Since the investigation did concentrate on Shenandoah, however, let's start there.

The police have always denied that any kicking occurred. One policeman who arrived on the scene, Patrolman Joseph Beginis, admits he "prodded" the body a few times with his foot to make sure Shenandoah wasn't "playing possum", but that's all.

Others say something different. In a memorandum written to then Pennsylvania Attorney General Shane Creamer in the spring of 1972, Stephen Miller, an investigator, listed by name and address nine witnesses, all of whom said they saw police kicking Shenandoah. Miller recommended action be taken against the police involved. Creamer did nothing.

But these statements weren't the only evidence of the kicking. At the trial at which the Indians were acquitted, one eyewitness, Stephen Wolper, swore: "He [the officer] came down the stairway, he kicked the body that was laying there several times... at least once in the side, once in the buttocks with his heel, and made some comment to the effect, 'You fucking bastards.'"

Stewart Spohn, another eyewitness: "On the way down past the body, he kicked the body several times, once somewhere around the neck, shoulder area, once in the side, and once, I believe, in the buttocks with his heel." These eyewitnesses did not know the Indians or the police involved. Two Indians, Marvin Crouse and Maynard Gabriel, in sworn statements, allege they also saw the police hit and kick Shenandoah after he was shot.

The Justice Department, in dropping its investigation, apparently believed that sufficient evidence existed that Shenandoah was kicked; however, "kicking a dead man is not a crime." Or so said Frank Allen, an official of the Justice Department on April 24, 1975

when he was queried by Senator Edward Kennedy's office for reasons why indictments against the police were not sought.

Kicking a dead body may or may not be a crime — some lawyers say it is. But Allen's flippant comment ignores that all the alleged kicking of Shenandoah took place before anyone checked to see if he were alive. (Unless, that is, Beginis' foot-prods count as a medical examination.)

Beginis did something else. Hearing the shots, the cameraman for the movie company had pushed his way through the crowd, and before he was stopped by police, took a 45-second film sequence of what was occurring on the balcony. The film shows Beginis picking up Shenandoah, who had been face down, and throwing him back against the steps, this time face-up in a semi-sitting position. At that time, Shenandoah was severely bleeding from abdominal wounds and if he were going to be moved at all, it should have been to a prone position in accordance with rudimentary first-aid instructions.

It was only some minutes after this that the police began to check Shenandoah for signs of life. Indeed, if official police reports are to be believed, for the next ten minutes at least four different officers examined him. No one, however, thought to call an ambulance. Even so, according to police documents, a stretcher crew arrived on the balcony about 8:15, but it was never used to get Shenandoah to a doctor. A second stretcher crew, which arrived around 8:25, was dismissed by a detective because, he says, Shenandoah was "obviously dead." Considering the banging around he had apparently received, it's quite possible Shenandoah was dead by then.

Although apparently dismissed by the Justice Department because it went against its kick-a-dead-body theory, sworn testimony exists that Shenandoah lived for some time after the kicking stopped. At the Indians' trial, eyewitness Don Goldman:

Q. What part of the body moved?

A. Just the body moved.

Q. That was not —

A. It moved, on its own accord, it moved, that man was not dead.

Witness James O'Neal, same time period:

Q. On the steps?

A. He was not dead, you know.

District Attorney: Objected to.

A. Well, put it like this —

District Attorney: Objected to.

A. He was still moving.

The Justice Department also had available statements from other witnesses who say they saw Shenandoah continue to move for some time after he was shot. Two of Shenandoah's friends, Crouse and Gabriel, also have sworn they heard Shenandoah's groaning after he was down. Gabriel places this at the time just before the arrival of the first stretcher. The Justice Department also had available statements from medical experts that Shenandoah could have lived up to a half-hour with the wounds he received, and that if he were promptly treated, the wounds would not necessarily have been fatal.



The Department, however, apparently decided to accept the police version of the suddenness of Shenandoah's demise, even though that version, in itself, raises serious questions of brutality and neglect in not getting him to a hospital.

John Benedict is the forgotten man of the Shenandoah case. In dropping its investigation, the Justice Department chose to ignore serious evidence of the violation of Benedict's rights, a chronology of obfuscation and apparent hiding of evidence by Philadelphia officials that reflects heavily against the entire official version of what occurred that bloody night.

No one denies that Benedict, just 5'7" tall and slender, was standing behind both Montanaro and Shenandoah when the fight broke out between the two men. Montanaro, who was never called as a prosecution witness at the Indians' trial, says that he felt "a lot of hands" lift him over the balcony, after which he got out his revolver and shot across his left armpit. After that, Montanaro remembers nothing until he heard a "clicking" sound produced by the trigger of his gun as he continued to shoot after all the bullets were gone. The bullet that wounded Benedict entered his body from the right side and traveled upward through his body, stopping just below his heart. If, as the prosecution alleged, Benedict was pushing Montanaro over the balcony when he was shot, it is difficult to understand how a bullet fired across Montanaro's armpit could have traveled upward through Benedict's small body. It becomes even odder when it is recalled that Montanaro's revolver contained six bullets, and that Shenandoah had, according to city officials, six bullet wounds.

The most likely version of what happened is Benedict's. From the beginning, even when the police questioned him while he was under heavy sedation at the hospital, Benedict said he never participated in the fight, and therefore must have been hit by a bullet that passed through Shenandoah's body as Montanaro and Shenandoah were wrestling near the foot of the steps. A number of witnesses, who saw parts of the fight from the street, also back that version.

All along, in fact, only one witness ever said that Benedict was part of the alleged assault by several Indians on Montanaro. That witness was Sergeant Rambo, who, evidence shows, was further down the balcony, on one knee, shooting in the opposite direction at another Indian. The problem faced by Benedict's lawyer was that, while no one other than Rambo identified Benedict, none of these witnesses could swear that Benedict had not participated, at any point, in the fight.

Philadelphia Magazine has now learned that the police and district attorney *did* have a witness who could have sworn that Benedict, at no time, was involved in the fight, much less involved in trying to push Montanaro off the balcony. This witness was no civilian whose testimony might be lightly considered by officials. The witness, instead, was a Philadelphia policeman, presumably a trained observer, the same Patrolman Beginis who later "prodded" and lifted Shenandoah's body. Beginis, who was on the scene to help handle the crowd watching the movie-making, told a police detective the day after the shooting that he had seen the fight from the beginning. In a statement that has since been repeated under oath, Beginis says that *only* Shenandoah and Montanaro were fighting. Beginis' statement, exonerating Benedict, however, was never made available to defense attorneys, in

apparent violation of proper legal procedure. That statement, when added to the nature of Benedict's wound and the testimony of other witnesses, should have led to dismissal of charges against Benedict. Instead, Benedict was forced to live under the cloud of a felony indictment for 17 months, forced to travel from his home [at Akwesasne] to Philadelphia, for hearing after hearing, never knowing that Beginis' exculpatory statement had been withheld.

Question: Did the City continue its prosecution of Benedict as a ploy to persuade Benedict not to file his own suit against the City for the injuries he had received and the income he lost during the year he couldn't work after-

Benedict. Beginis thinks he was removed from the balcony before anyone else. A detective who arrived on the balcony between 8:10 and 8:15 doesn't remember seeing Benedict when he got there. The assumption is that the first stretcher crew, the one that could have taken Shenandoah to the hospital, instead took Benedict. At the outside, according to the police version, Benedict was removed no later than 8:15.

Benedict's recollection differs from the police version. He says he lay on the balcony for "10 or 15, maybe 20 minutes" before a stretcher crew arrived. However, even then, Benedict says, he was not taken out. Instead, an

al, two minutes away from the scene of the shooting. Handcuffed, Benedict was pulled out of the wagon, after which: "...one officer says - 'We'll see if you ever do that again' and he gave me a punch in the face."

If Benedict's story is true, what happened to him represents undeniable police brutality, neglect, violation of his civil rights, and a defiance by the officers of the Police Department's own Directive 63. On the other hand, if the police version is true, then (except for the question of the punch), Benedict may have received reasonable care as long as he was taken "to the nearest hospital in the quickest and safest manner."

The Justice Department, however, according to Fuoco, never tried to learn the truth of Benedict's story. The Department, instead, seems to have accepted the police version without asking the key question of *when* Benedict was admitted to the hospital.

Philadelphia Magazine, unlike the Justice Department, decided to call Jefferson Hospital. According to a hospital spokesman, Benedict was admitted to the hospital at 9 p.m., nearly one hour after he was shot, a time in exact accord with Benedict's own chronology. Even if the police version is true, and Benedict was taken off the balcony at 8:15, the question remains: what happened to him for the next 45 minutes?

This neglect of the seriously wounded, "squirming" Benedict suggests that if he could be treated as he was, complete to the alleged punch at the end of his long ride, how much credence should be given to the police version that Shenandoah was "obviously dead"? In view of this evident delay in getting the critically-wounded Benedict medical aid, the testimony of eyewitnesses who saw Shenandoah continue to move for some time after he was shot takes on added credence.

"Contradictory" evidence, says the Justice Department, caused them to drop the Shenandoah investigation. The integrity, if not the wrong-headedness of that decision would be easy to accept were it possible to ignore the Justice Department's previous track record in civil rights cases.

Over the past seven years, "contradictory" evidence has never stopped the Department from prosecuting civil rights advocates. Not only "contradictory" but bad evidence, often planted by their own provocateurs, has accompanied Justice Department prosecutions in places like Harrisburg, Camden, Gainesville, and most recently, against native civil rights advocates at Wounded Knee.

But Indians know all about the quality of American justice. They've not seen just seven years, but nearly two centuries of it. Ask John Benedict about American justice. You can't ask Leroy Shenandoah.

— John Guinther

(Thanks to *Philadelphia Magazine* for its continuing support of our people working in their city, and thanks to John Guinther, who won the 1974 Robert F. Kennedy Journalism Award for his investigative journalism of the Shenandoah case.)



ward? In developing its own cover-up of the Shenandoah case, the Justice Department apparently never considered the apparent cover-up by the City in the Benedict case.

But the questions about Benedict, ignored by the Justice Department when it decided to drop the investigation, don't end there. What happened to Benedict after he was shot? Two mutually-exclusive stories exist, Benedict's and the official version. Whichever one is believed, serious questions are raised about police conduct.

Based on its printed regulations, the Philadelphia Police Department requires high standards from its officers. Take Directive 63. Except in the case of "obviously dead persons", the directive states: "Under no circumstances will an officer try to diagnose an illness. Emergencies such as ... profuse bleeding ... and internal bleeding shall be transported to the nearest hospital in the quickest and safest manner." The police claim the directive didn't apply to Shenandoah because he was "obviously dead". But there was never any doubt that Benedict was both alive and bleeding. Patrolman Beginis on the subject: "He was squirming."

If the police are to be believed, Directive 63 was followed in the case of

officer in charge told the crew members they had the wrong kind of stretcher and should go get the other type. This turned out to be a hassock, familiarly known as "a dead man's stretcher." When this arrived, Benedict recalls one policeman saying, "This one hasn't had enough yet."

They took him out, his body hitting the steps along the way. "They dragged me down the stairs. I just braced myself in [that stretcher] to brake my fall. ... When we hit the bottom - and I mean hit the bottom - then they said, 'Okay guys, take it easy, we are getting outside the building.'"

But still, Benedict wasn't taken to the hospital. Rather, he says, he was laid on the sidewalk next to a police wagon. About ten minutes later, the police returned, picked him up, and threw him inside where he landed at the feet of Marvin Crouse, who had been injured by the police as he was removed from the building. Following Benedict's chronology, he was thrown into the wagon somewhere between 8:35 and 8:40.

"Well, we drove around for a while. I mean they couldn't - they couldn't figure out which hospital to take us to, I guess." The drive, Benedict says, took another 15 to 20 minutes, after which the wagon pulled in at Jefferson Hospital.

Milwaukee, Wisconsin — Native people were almost caught in the crossfire of a busing controversy here this spring, but a final ruling has allowed them to exercise options, and forced busing will not be imposed on them.

In January, 1976, U.S. District Judge John Reynolds issued an order for busing of students in order to achieve "racial balance" — proportionate numbers of blacks and whites in schools. Black children from the inner city were to be bused to schools that are all white, and white students will be bused into the inner city. Reynolds appointed John Grenowski as a Special Master to draw up plans for the busing.

On April 23, Grenowski met with the Indian community to inform them that they too would be subject to busing. Milwaukee has approximately 1700 Indian students, many of whom are included in a Title IV

program under the Special Education Act. The program, called "We Indian Program", teaches cultural awareness and tutors academic subjects.

Herb Powless, director of an alcoholism treatment and prevention program in Milwaukee and a national director of the American Indian Movement, argued with Grenowski, pointing to the special and unique trusteeship between native people and the U.S. Government, giving them an exemption from these type of "civil rights" issues which actually cause native people the loss of rights under the guise of giving them "equality". For instance, special legislation mandates preferential hiring of Indian people in Indian-related federal employment, even though such favorable treatment could be considered contrary to white civil rights.

Grenowski finally agreed with Powless, and a ruling was issued allowing native children to be concentrated

in schools where the culture and tutoring program is strong.



It was many winters ago, perhaps numbering the berries in two handfuls of Buffalo berries or more, when there lived among the Lakota Nation a young boy named Star. He was the only son of Chief Kills Plenty and his wife Shields. Both were kind, generous and courageous parents.

The lodges of Chief Kills Plenty's band were twenty-odd and were camped in their summer camp near the fork of the Omaha Creek and the Little White River in the valleys of the Grass Mountains. It had been a good year with many large buffalo hunts upon the grassy prairies both near and east beyond the distant Rosebud Creek. Everywhere the berries had ripened and turnips were plentiful. Because of this, the camp of Chief Kills Plenty feasted almost every day and enjoyed the company of relatives who would occasionally visit from their encampments scattered up and downstream on the banks of the Little White River.

The many young boys and friends of Star were of ten or so winters in age, and often found themselves in each other's company during these infrequent visits. The Lakota elders considered it too risky to allow such young boys to try any daring deeds of worthy note, so these young boys did not feel like they had to act like the responsible warriors. It was because of this that they would become mischievous rascals and disturb the camp by running through the lodges and chasing each other around the evening fires during the larger and longer encampments of the many Lakota bands.

During the summer mid-afternoons, in the Grass Mountain valleys, the breezes gusting in from the plains would rest and the sun would heat the interiors of the Lakota lodges and make the women raise the skin coverings slightly around the edges to keep them cool inside.

Now it so happened that the sandy camp-grounds and the high chalky canyon walls surrounding Chief Kills Plenty's camp also held within its many caves and crevices a rather large Nation of Lizards — the four-legged relatives of the Lakotas.

The Lizards were no exception when it came to having their share of restless young rascals who were constantly getting themselves into mischief. For instance, as soon as the lodge coverings of the Lakotas below were raised, the young Lizards would enjoy running through the camp to get the young boys to chase them all over the hills and through the lodges of the Lakota and Lizard Nations. This greatly annoyed the elders of both Nations.

Chief Kills Plenty was particularly fond of one such Lizard of that Nation. He was the Grandfather Lizard of that Nation, and quite an old one at that, too.

This Grandfather Lizard knew many things. For example, when Chief Kills Plenty would bid him to visit, the Grandfather Lizard would enter the lodge and immediately rest himself at the guest-of-honor position which was directly opposite the entrance. Only the Cheyenne and Blue Cloud Nations had known of this Lakota custom.

Anyway, on this one particular day after the formalities of visitation had been disposed of properly, the old father of Chief Kills Plenty — known to all as Grandfather Shoots Enemy — spoke up by way of discussing with the Grandfather Lizard as to how the young ones these days were inclined to terrible manners, and were, in general, unbecoming of the traditional ways.

"Indeed," said the Grandfather Lizard. "And I recall when we both were young."

"My grandson is of late quite a nuisance and a mischievous one at that, too," spoke up Grandfather Shoots Enemy. "He listens and learns well, but all too soon forgets his instruction in the company of his companions and others his age."

"Ah!" replied the sagely Grandfather Lizard. "His personal discipline he retains to himself and declines to share

with others his age. We of the Lizard Nation have such a problem, too." He continued: "And we are equally wont to restore our order and discipline within our young."

"I suspected as much," said Grandfather Shoots Enemy. "And for this reason, I propose that we mock the foolishness of their mischief by exposing the folly of their ways."

"My cousin, indeed a lesson is in order," said Grandfather Lizard. "I suggest that we plan one that they shall not soon forget."

"Haul!" replied Grandfather Shoots Enemy.

"I have in mind a certain nephew of mine for our endeavor," suggested Grandfather Lizard.

"Likewise, I have a grandson," replied Grandfather Shoots Enemy.

And as the afternoon progressed, they planned their lesson.

"From beneath their very noses I shall steal that feather," he boasted. "And I shall have those young ones running all over the place. Just watch me tomorrow," he said.

Now about that same time, far below in the lodge of Chief Kills Plenty, Grandfather Shoots Enemy was addressing his grandson. "Star, I have a feather, a very large eagle-tail feather. I have been saving it for my grandson for quite some time. It is a very strange feather, though. For this reason, I have chosen to see if its powers are good or evil. Tomorrow, I shall entrust you with the duty of guarding and closely watching it for any such signs."

Star was beginning to feel like a warrior already.

Grandfather Shoots Enemy continued, "But you are not to touch this feather, under any circumstances, because it just might do strange or frightening things to you."



Upon returning to the lodges of the Lizard Nation that evening, the Grandfather Lizard waited until the Lizard Nation had gathered to sleep, and speaking in a voice that almost all were sure to hear, he said, "I have heard that, within the camp of the Lakotas below, there is a certain feather in the center of a lodge and that it is guarded by a young one who values it extremely. I would advise that no one go down there and disturb them tomorrow."

You wouldn't have to be a Lizard to have your curiosity pricked all night long with questions about that feather running through your head. Even so, the little nephew of Grandfather Lizard was already boasting to his friends as to how he would sneak into the camp of the Lakotas and steal the feather of which his Grandfather had spoken.

Star was getting scared now, but he enjoyed the idea of it all.

Early the next morning, Star awoke and found the eagle-tail feather lying in the center of the lodge. The feather was so large that it could easily cover the length of his fore-arm from elbow to fingertips. Its breadth was as wide as his palm. It's hollow-tipped end had been wound around with a length of thin glue-coated sinew which loosely dangled for several inches.

Quickly, he got up and seated himself outside the lodge door and made quite a show of being occupied in his duty. In fact, he was so busy trying to look important and stern to his friends that he didn't see a tiny Lizard crawl slowly past him and quietly sneak into the lodge — the way they always do when they're up to no good.

Once inside the lodge, the tiny Lizard got a firm grip on the feather's sticky sinew with his mouth, and dragging the huge feather upon his back, ran into the plain view of Star.

It was a frightening sight, indeed. In fact, so frightening that upon seeing the feather speed past him, Star screamed out, "Ho! It has grown legs!" And was that quickly on his feet and running in the opposite direction.

All this time, the young Lizard had been mischievously chuckling to himself, but when he caught sight of Star running from him with that terrified look on his face, he really began to laugh. Suddenly, to the young Lizard's surprise, he found that he couldn't open his mouth!

About this time, the camp dogs spied the large feather running about and began to chase it, unaware that it was only a little Lizard underneath. The scared little Lizard was shaking his head from side to side, trying to get the glued sinew loose from his mouth. This is pretty hard to do when you're running from a pack of mean camp dogs who might do dreadful things to you if they caught you and when the feather that you're dragging seems to get heavier and heavier.

All this time, Star stood near his lodge watching the mysterious feather run around and around the camp with the dogs behind it barking loudly and raising a lot of dust. He was now certain that it was possessed of some evil power that would do terrible things to anyone it touched.

He shuddered to think that he had narrowly escaped it only moments before.

About this time, the troubled little Lizard spotted Star and thought it best to return his feather immediately lest this innocent prank be the death of him. So it was to Star's terror that the running feather suddenly turned in his direction. The horrified Star quickly turned on his heels and began to run all over camp, chased by that feather and the menacing pack of camp mongrels. They were running all over the camp grounds knocking over racks of dried meat, lodge poles, and stepping on freshly-stretched buffalo hides.

It was an unforgettable spectacle. The Lizard Nation watched from their distant canyon walls and laughed until their sides ached. Everyone knows that something really has to be funny for this to happen. All the Lakotas in camp were laughing too. Star's friends were rolling around on the ground and couldn't stop laughing.

The chase would've continued all day hadn't Grandfather Shoots Enemy called off the dogs and picked up the exhausted panting little Lizard and gently pried open his glued jaws and got the feather. The ashamed and shaken little Lizard was set free to return to his camp, and Star returned to his parent's lodge. For many days after this, both of these youngsters wouldn't come out of their lodges to play because everytime they came out, their friends would take one look at them and begin to laugh all over again and forget to play.

Indeed, it had been a good day for such a lesson to have been taught to all. In fact, Grandfather Lizard and Grandfather Shoots Enemy both chuckled to themselves in rare amusement.

From then on, anytime that young boys ran through the camp, showing off and disturbing the Lakotas, someone would ask, "Cousin, have you a feather chasing you?" Then the boys would remember that story and behave immediately.

And the Lizard Nation had no trouble in keeping their young from the camps of the Lakotas when they came through. When a young Lizard would start in the direction of the camp, some Lizard would say, "Be sure to bring us a feather." And the young Lizard would remember that story and return immediately.

Hau.

As in the days of old, it has again been spoken.

FOUR MIRRORS FOUR MIRRORS FOUR MIRRORS FOUR MIRRORS

[Hyemeyohsts Storm is the author of the controversial Seven Arrows in which he attempted to express ancient truths in new ways. This essay was sent to AKWESASNE NOTES by Storm in tribute to George Manuel, president of the National Indian Brotherhood of Canada, and chairman of the newly-formed World Council of Indigenous People. We are grateful to him for this creative effort to break the bonds of imagery and symbolism imposed by a status-quo anthropological perspective. The Editors.]

"Never confuse the Hunter with the Warrior," my Teacher once told me. "And always remember that you are both."

My name is Hyemeyohsts Storm. I am your Relative. I place my Pipe in your hands and I rest my Weapons upon the Ground at your feet. I will sit with you, in this article, and I will speak with you of War and Peace.

It is truly wise when any Person can see the Circle they are standing within. It is within that Circle where the Medicine is found. I discovered these words when I had the courage to stand within my own Circle — my own personal authority.

I, like every Indian in America, was filled with the anguish and pain of "being Indian" at one time. However, this began to change for me when I began to listen to my own People. The People I speak of were not just the Cheyenne and Crow Family I was born into — they were the People within me. The discovery of these personal powers of my own mind immediately showed me that there were Two Circles — one was my Family, the Cheyenne and the Crow, and the Other was the Family of my own Mind.

This discovery amazed me and caused me great joy — I could be me!

During the following months, I learned of the Third Circle, the Mother Earth. It was soon after this that I realized there was a Fourth Power in my life, but I vehemently rejected it. It was a Power of Evil and Terror!

I Warred against that Power with every resource I possessed. I was determined to protect myself, my Inward Camp, against such depravity and I hurled my forces against it, determined to crush it. Hundreds of my Warrior-Thoughts died on the battle field and my Inward Camp suffered greatly with hunger, but I fought on.

There were no Children born in my Inward Camp because there was no Way for me to feed and care for them — I was too busy with War to be able to Hunt.

The Evil fought hard, mercilessly against me. It amassed its priests and gods on my Southern border — they, as it turned out, were pitifully weak and were no match for my Warriors. Evil then attacked me from the West, with its terrible and voracious Dog Soldiers — it was during that confrontation that I lost heart. I would have been destroyed, but at the last possible moment, a Medicine Woman, with the name of Four Mirrors, gathered together what People She could find from my Camp and, with these, She threw back the Enemy.

Evil then brought its third army against my Camp, these hordes came from the North. However, now that I had the help of Four Mirrors, I could easily defend myself.

After this last battle, a Council was called in my Inward Camp.

"We need to take the offensive," a powerful woman said, standing up in my Council. I had never seen that woman before — never! I was amazed that she existed in my world. "We must fight on," she said to my Council. "I know that we are tired, ragged and starving, but we must attack the final army to the East!"

"Impossible!" a chief argued, as he stood up at the Council. "We would be cut to pieces. I say that it is not wise."

"Then what should we do?" another asked. That person was kind and had much care for the People in my world. I knew him very intimately — we were close friends.

"Consider with me," Four Mirrors the Medicine Woman said, rising to her feet. "If we should decide to battle the eastern army, it is very likely that we will be destroyed. Yet there is the possibility that our actions will be seen by other Camps of the People upon the Prairie, and they will be encouraged to fight with us."

"I have decided," I said. "I have been given the Wolf Robe. I will go alone to the eastern Camp."

There were nods of approval around my Council.

"I will sneak into that Camp, invisible in the Wolf Robe, and I will kill the terrible Woman of that army," I explained without emotion. I had no emotion — no feeling whatsoever. I had pained for too long. At the time, my heart was broken, my body was scarred from War. I had no joy and I felt that all hope was gone.

I infiltrated the eastern army's Camp. The Wolf Robe protected me. Once I was in that world, I became aware of its strength. My Camp looked pitiful in comparison. Terrible machines of War were everywhere. The entire Camp was filled with every kind of weapon imaginable. That Camp was a complicated world of violence — yet it appeared to be strangely benevolent to its own People.

I found the Lodge where the terrible Woman lived, and I carefully, very quietly, crept inside. Little by little, my

"Your Name!" I commanded Her. "Tell me your Name before I crush your skull."

"Who is it that wants to know my Name?" She asked.

"Four Mirrors told me to ask for your Name before I killed you," I grimaced. "Tell me what it is."



"I am called America," She said as She sat up.

"America?" I said in disbelief. "That cannot be!"

"My Mother was Sweet Medicine Land," She explained to me. "I am Her Daughter."

"I cannot kill the Daughter of our Mother, Sweet Medicine Land!" I cried.

I threw my War Ax away from me and I sat down and wept. I was defeated. I knew that it would not be long before the army I now stood among would completely destroy my world.

I started back to my own People, torn with grief. Sorrow was my only company.

I was almost to my Camp when I met a Coyote.

"There is a Way," the Coyote said to me. "There is the magic of the Circle."

Suddenly, the Coyote began to change. Its form became confused with the world that surrounded it. It became shadowy, blurred. It began to look like many things, many People. I saw Vine Deloria, Jr., emerge from that pattern, then Frank Waters, Buffy Ste. Marie, then Tobacco Dancer. No sooner had these Images appeared and disappeared, then others would take their place.

"What happened?" my Council asked me when I returned to my own Camp.

"I saw a Circle," I answered.

"Tell us of it," they asked.

I looked, trying to find the words to describe it, but I could not.

"North," the powerful woman within my Council suggested.

"Wisdom," I laughed.

"South," my chief grinned from where he sat.

"Trust and Innocence!" I said as I danced around in a Circle.

"West," Four Mirrors beamed.

"Looking Within, Introspection!" I sang.

"East," my most gentle friend said, joyfully.

"The Place of Illumination!" I said, celebrating.

Now that I have shared this Pipe with you, I will take back my Bow, my Arrows, my Lance and my Shield. I am not dressed for War. These symbolic tools are my protection and my Way of Hunting for myself and my Camp.

The Pipe is a Gift — I leave it with you. Peace is where you find yourself — it is the Sweet Water of Love.



"Evil must be destroyed," a very old man said from where he sat in the Council. "There is no other Way."

"If only the other People of the Prairie would join with us," a grandmother said with sorrow in her eyes. "To do nothing is much more terrible than trying to do too much."

"At this time, it is not wise to war against the eastern army," my chief said. "Our camp is not strong enough."

"Then what do you suggest?" a very angry man said from where he sat in the Council.

"That is for you to decide," the chief answered, looking at me.

eyes became accustomed to the darkness.

Then I saw Her sleeping at my feet.

I raised my Ax of War to kill Her, when suddenly I noticed that She was looking directly into my eyes.

"I do not blame you for wanting to kill me," She said quietly. "But you must understand that I am a prisoner in this Lodge."

"A prisoner?" I spit contemptuously. "You are the Mother of this Evil!"

"I am myself," She said with strength in Her voice.

◆◆◆The Road Back To Our Future◆◆◆

(Recently, the East-West Journal, in a copyrighted article by J. Richard Turner, interviewed Sakokwenonkwas, a sub-chief of the Bear Clan of the Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne on spiritual prophecies. These are excerpts from that interview. The East-West Journal is a newsmagazine of interest to those exploring alternate spiritual paths and life-styles, published at 29-31 Farnsworth St., Boston, Massachusetts 02210.)

One of the most important roads that we are trying to pave for our future is the road leading back towards the past, because in the past, our life was very religious, a sacred life.

Our people had a very unique way in which to handle life and to secure that the villages and the people who make those villages were happy, in good health, and everything was together.

The United States and Canada have tried to assimilate the Indians through schools in order to rearrange our thinking to a way of thinking which involves our being rich and having money and driving a nice car and having air conditioning. We don't see any future in which those things have a top priority as our goal on our future road.

That's why we are trying to de-educate our people, trying to de-Christianize our people to make them back into the Pagans because that way was good — that way we had a true understanding of God and his universe.

When we accepted Christianity and the missionaries, that way goes hand in hand with gold and silver — that seems to be the root of the whole problem that everybody has. . . So our most important job is to get our own people back to our own beliefs, our own religious values as much as possible, as much as circumstances of this society will allow us to do.

In order to do that, the White Roots of Peace has been travelling all over the United States. Because the United States Government has been interfering with our Nation and obstructing the welfare and happiness of our people, some of our older people said to go to the colleges and universities of the white man and explain to them the beliefs of the Indian, how we really believe in God, so that maybe they will see that we do care about all life. They will see that we fit in this universe of all living things. They said that the future presidents, the future congressmen, the future political leaders come out of the universities. If you can tell them when they are young so that when they get into the positions of power where they may control and affect the very life of an Indian, having a previous understanding and knowledge of us they may deal with us in a human fashion. . . We've been going to hundreds and hundreds of universities to try to bring about a better understanding.

This is important, because we have prophecies that say that the time of purification is coming and that disastrous things will happen to the rivers and the earth, earthquakes and big winds, because humanity is too ignorant to follow directly the Creator of the Universe. If we don't live in harmony with God's universe, the destruction of the world will come. . .

We don't want to convert the white man and the black man to be an Indian — we just want them to follow their own true way that God gave them. If we do that, we will find that the way that God gave to all races is in harmony.

. . . A lot of mothers are working in factories and all over, when they're supposed to be raising their children. Just like a deer who takes care of her little fawn, she doesn't throw it away to a nursery school — she takes care of it and protects it. But now women throw their children into some day-care school and let some strangers be the mothers all day while they work to make money. Those children have no real mother to raise them. So when those children



Sakokwenonkwas, Bear Clan Mohawk

become teenagers and their mother says to them, don't do this, they don't listen because they do not have natural respect for their parents.

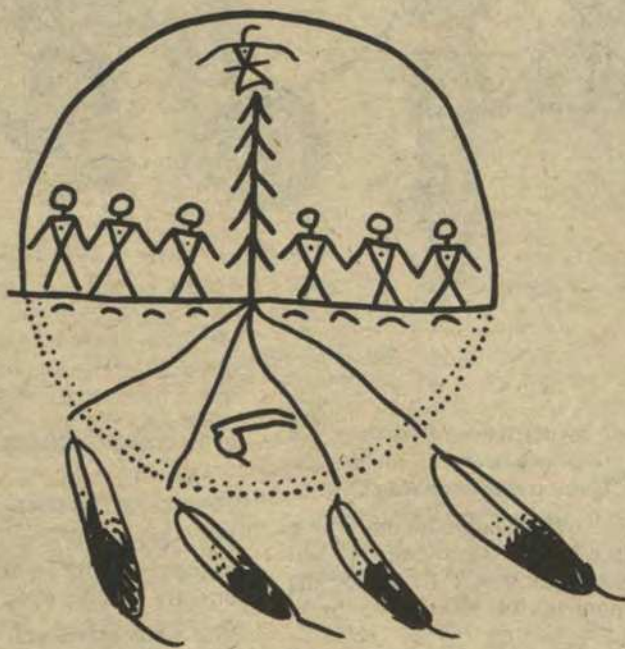
Then the parents will say that this younger generation is going crazy. It's not the younger generation going crazy — it is their generation that is going crazy. . .

[Prophecies telling how people could survive the coming purification] say that every human being who still follows the ancient ways that God gave them, no matter what race, will survive. The old people said that we Indians are the custodians of this continent and South America. That's why God put us here. That's why in this continent the Indian will make it through in greater numbers than any other race — our

He knows how to eat lots of different kinds of food that a lot of people think are weeds. The woods are our supermarkets, so we don't have to worry.

In my language, we don't call ourselves Indians — we call ourselves the Pure Humans. And the prophecies say that all who follow the *true human way*, not just the Indian way, will survive.

[AKWESASNE NOTES] is for all people who want to bring back to the world peace and good life. A lot of the articles are on politics, but it is not for the reason of digging up the past and saying "look what you have done to us!" The reason it is put in is so we can learn from the mistakes of the past so we don't make the same foolish mistakes again, not to give the white man a guilty conscience.



people who follow the old way don't depend upon electricity, they don't depend on freezers to keep their food, they don't depend on air conditioning and flush toilets. The Indian knows how to dry meat and put it away without electricity so he can save his food. He can put his corn away, he can dry fish.

. . . We are trying to re-establish our villages and our clans. The Hoop of our Nation was an understanding of the universe. All the things in the universe are related to each other. What affects one thing has to affect all other things. Our religious and our politics were not separated into different departments.

Our religious leaders were also our political leaders.

We believe that when the Mystery, or God, created the universe, he placed his hand on the whole thing, so everything is spiritual. As far as I know, God never told us Mohawks to separate anything, but just to look upon everything that he had made as holy and sacred and act accordingly with respect. Whatever you take from this Mother Earth, replace it, because nothing is for nothing.

We are trying to bring people together in a spiritual union, but not together in a big physical union. don't speak Hopi — God by the Creation has given them that language, as he has given me my Mohawk language. Those were special gifts to each of us, and I must respect my language. That's why we say to the white man to get back to what He gave you. He told you this was our Mother Earth — he didn't just tell it to the Indian. He told it to everybody and that's going to be our common denominator to peace.

You have heard about the Sun Dance of the Sioux. We have a Sun Dance too when we give thanksgiving to the Sun and its functions to the world, and we have ceremonies for the Moon, for the Rivers, for the Wind, for everything that we see in nature. The white man had these too. For example, think of the days of the week. Saturday means the day that they set aside to make ceremony for Saturn. Monday is for the Moon. So the white man had that too. But he forgot that, so now he is in trouble. He pushed God aside and now he is off his own road and this is why everyone is suffering. Even the Indian is suffering, because like I said, everything in this world affects each other. The chain is hooked together: separate links all of them, but they are still hooked together.



. . . I'm going to raise my family in the way that I've been taught by my old people. I'm going to make it physically work for my children. I'm going to teach my children in this way all I can and they are never going to any school. I'm going to teach them because I'm their father, and their mother is their mother, and we're going to teach them together and be a family.

The best thing that I can do is to make the old-time village a living reality. After we have established this, people can come and visit, as long as they don't come to make trouble or to change us. As long as they come to learn, we will teach them. But we will teach our own people our own ways. A lot of white people come to our reservation to learn Indian ways. We tell them that we do not have the power to change them into Indians — only God does. We can only direct you to find your own identity. So we tell them to do some fasting, do some pretty tall praying — taller than the Empire State Building — and look towards your Mother Earth, your old brother Sun, and all your relatives in nature, and they will tell you how to make a ceremony again according to the way God wants you to.

[An Indian woman once sent this message to the leaders of the European peoples. She said,] "When you have polluted the last river and have caught the last fish and have cut down the last tree, it is too bad that then, and only then, will you realize that you cannot eat all the money you have in the bank."

For the sake of our unborn generations of a thousand years from today, our very own flesh and blood, a very replica of us, their grandfathers, if we have any love and concern for them, we hope that the people who hear this will do something positive in that direction. . .

THE HARMONY

OF TRUTH

The Power is One.

We have the power, whether or not we recognize it. It is flowing through us, with us, in us, like a river. And we transform it, like a waterfall or a whirlpool, like the rows of lines and ripples crossing each other from many directions and merging in shifting patterns as the water is moving over rocks and pebbles.

If we are not moving with the power, continuously returning and offering ourselves to the Power to which we belong, it will be twisted and choked, and will twist us with it, and twist the Creation until the Creation suddenly frees itself to straighten the flow.

The Power is our Mother's lifeblood, and more: it is what she is. It is her body. It is our body. To neglect or forget the songs and rituals is to cause sickness in her and in all other beings. Look! One species is departing from its instructions and see the sickness and hurt it is causing throughout the Creation!

The songs and dances and rituals we are given — all our correct movements in the universe — are necessary for it to continue. The Creation is defined by each being as a fish defines the shape of the water, and our every movement sends ripples and waves through it. Nothing exists without its surroundings. We are part of one another, necessary for one another's life. The Creation is One. You have no boundaries. You are the Center. The ripples have no end.

The Creation is one organism. It is here. It seems complex only to those who try to know *about* it rather than *knowing* it. The Western people try to figure it out by squeezing it and stretching it out on a line, to analyze it step by step. They always seem to be "on the outside looking in" at the ways of the Creation or of natural peoples. You open yourself to the Creation, surrender, dissolve, and flow with it, reshape yourself and the Creation. We create ourselves. We create nothing. It is.

The flow of Creation, the Power — and we become alive. Individual beings flash up for a brief instant like a flash of a wave on the water. The culture the Creator gives us gives us form. We are not individuals each of whom *has* a culture — we *are* our cultures.

Your culture — simple or complex, rich (full of myths, songs, ceremonies, customs) or poor (consisting of "I Love Lucy", Top 40, Saturday football and McDonald's Golden Arches) is you. Culture-poor people have little life or awareness. Your culture — your rituals, language, customs, way of life — is your means of participating in the Way. The richer your culture, the more life and power you have. Anglo-Americans must take formal schooling to gain life from their literature and art — and even this is separate from their ordinary daily life. A natural people lives its poetry. A natural people is close to the source of its life.

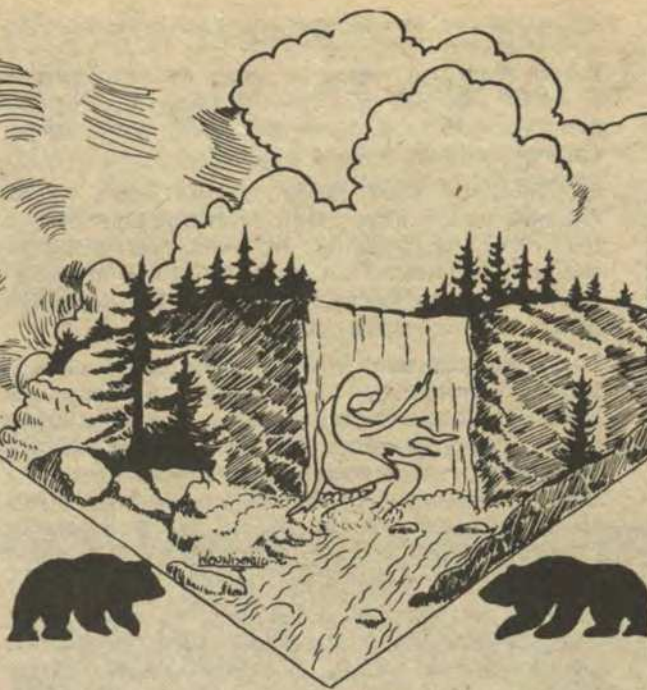
Your culture gives you relations. It sets you in position in the universe relative to the trees, the moon, the birds, your people. How was that river born? The story is told, and the river is transformed into you — through the story the People share one mind and one life. How did summer and winter come into being? Where do the salmon go? How did the bear get its short tail? You are given relations: the bear, the summer, the salmon give life to the People. The more relations, the richer your being, for their power and life flows into you.

There are lines which connect everything in Creation with everything else. Along these lines, the Power flows. These lines fill the world. Some you are given by your culture, your nation's instructions. Some are given by visions and dreams through which you form your own relationships with Creation. And you may break some of these lines, to your loss — the bear is no longer your ancestor. That stone no longer has healing power.

If something is killed without purpose for the Creation, without prayer and reverence, it is as though a high-voltage power line is cut. The Creator has given us the spider's web as illustration: if one of certain single strands is broken, the whole structure collapses, and even the mere moving of one strand is felt by all.

These lines connect to you, to your head, and your heart and your hands. The more and stronger lines, the more securely you are hooked to the universe, and the more life flows to you. This is why visions and living in the Sacred Manner demand a hard and a true life, for one must live so as not to break these lines that keep one bound on the Path through which Power flows.

If a hunter breaks the cords which tie him to the correct way of hunting with prayers and ritual, he may



seem to have been "freed of superstition". Then he may act as he wishes, kill and destroy and ignore his responsibility to aid in beginning new life for the spirit he has so abruptly torn from this creature's flesh. But hunting not purified by the way of Power will be destroyed. It may take a little while — it may be destroyed by the destruction of the world. The Westerners, who believe in instant things like instant coffee and instant transportation seem to think that if Power does not work instantly, it will not work at all, or that if destruction does not come instantly, it will not come. After all, do not psychologists tell our parents to discipline children immediately after the offense occurred?

The Westerners have laughed at the "superstitious taboos" of natural peoples, such as those against eating the flesh of certain animals, against handling certain objects without ritual, or against entering certain places at the wrong time. But the misuse by foreigners of sacred symbols or objects for commercial or other purposes is no mere insult — it threatens the bonds that hold together the Nation and the Creation.

We humans are given cultures which for us create the world. They create worlds demanding conquest or "progress" such as by splitting an atom to direct certain forms of the Power — or worlds in which a certain song will cure an illness. Tribal "magic" and Western "science" use the same principles of Power to create certain worlds and act within them. But natural people are in touch with their spiritual processes and know that they are creating the world they live in, and for what purposes. The Creator's instructions for a Nation create a single harmonious oneness, sometimes called a "culture" to keep the people of the Nation of one mind. No natural people considers its religion the only "true" one, or its ways of doing things the "correct" ones.

The Western peoples have long been confusing their symbols with absolutes. Western science is like tiny intricate threads of a net stretched over the Creation, and Western belief insists that anything that is not of this net does not exist. The worlds they make are without roots in the earth, and drift like bubbles. The Western peoples, acting within these worlds, hurt themselves and others — like a person dreaming of a fight who smashes the face of someone she loves sleeping beside her, or like a sleepwalker walking off a cliff.

Matter and energy are named by Western science, but what is at their center? What is the growing of a tree, the moving of the waters and winds? See the light at the center — what Westerners name "instinct" for animals and "natural law" for non-living beings. It is the knowledge that keeps us at the heart of the Creation. See the one light that pierces the center of the many circles of many nations of beings, uniting them in one Power.

Plants among living beings belong most to the spirit world. They hold the illusion of being separate individuals. They share a single life and one another's pains and deaths and births. The stones belong yet more to the Spirit World — they have shed the ways of living beings, of breathing and eating, yet they remain among us living beings. The waters belong yet more to the world of spirit. We need them for life in every cell, and so the waters symbolize Spirit Power's source of Life. In the Fire, we may more clearly see Spirit Power as it is reflected in life. The Fire becomes flames, each with its own life, yet each of these seemingly individual beings may readily return to being one once more — showing for us that all Fire throughout the world is a single spirit.

Through this we may see clearly the truth of our life, that each nation of beings is of a single spirit no matter how many or scattered its individuals may be. The wind of all beings that we see in the physical world is most a spirit. It is not air, but the motion of the air — it is change, Power bringing Life.

The Creator gives us many illustrations of the Way. It is in the birth and dying of trees, of snow, of days. It is in

the flash into life of a mayfly and the brief emergence into light of a cicada. It is in baby mice. We know our lives in these. It is in the growing motion of trees and the moving of clouds over the moon. We move as they do. It turns itself into "art" — pottery, weaving, carving the always-changing designs of the Creation. It turns itself into the old songs that trace the structures of Power on the air, the legends that shape the Power into the form of our lives.

There is a very narrow line, a path, where there is light — a very slender beam that passes through your body and those of the People, to bind you as one mind. Look at the communal insects — ants, bees — how one mind passes through them. Look at the birds, each knowing by itself, but knowing as of one mind, where and when to migrate, when and how to begin building nests.

And along this path of the spirit way are the voices of the Powers, like a beam of light. As long as you are on their line, you have their protection and guidance. But when you fall off, there is darkness all around and blind and unanchored, you are stumbling around, groping for direction, like those people who hurt other beings as they grope through the dark, bewildered, helpless, blind.

There are thousands of spirit paths, like rays from the sun. Each is the instruction, the path, for one nation of beings, and each comes from the One Source of Light and Power and Knowledge. There are a thousand ways of knowing that tree, that water, all given by the Creator. But that tree has one center. There are a thousand forms that tree may have taken, and yet it is of one instruction for that Tree Nation.

We are perfect. We are links and linked to everything in all directions.

These lines — what are they? They are love. As we human beings are connected, our minds in the nation move. I die, and my mind and spirit are of the nation, my body and spirit returning to my Mother, living forever in the Sacred Circle.

The spirits keep us bound on the Sacred Path. They are love connecting us to one another.

My people, can you not see the sacred light? Can you see the trees moving in the wind? That is love — love is the raw form of Power. It is its own life. It is not one compartment of Life — it is beyond us and of its own existence.

Love is the Power, and from it life is created. The Earth is our mother because she loves us — from her love, our life is born. Love is the lines through which life flows from one being to another. It makes life one. What we know as love we feel is our participation in the Power. We gain aliveness through love because we are returning to the source of life. Why do babies die who are not given love? Why do prisoners — or anyone — who are lonely and forgotten become hollow and lifeless?

Even some Christians have known it: God is Love. Every holy person sent by the Creator has brought one message, and that message is love. Love your enemies — there is no conflict of interest in the Creation, for the Creation is one. If we love those who are hurting the Creation, we will work that they someday will be part of life once again. Love is not kissyface and huggybear.

There will be pain in this work of love — for us, and for them. There will be pain and death in the Purification. The Creation is love: death, pain, transformation, growth.

The world. It is wonder. It is magic. It is love. The Creator has given you the knowledge. Listen to the trees. They will tell you. Listen! Look! Look! You have your own teachers, and they are not words on a paper. Look! No tree will ever again take the shape of that one. The cloud alone is granted that cloud form, and it will soon be gone forever.

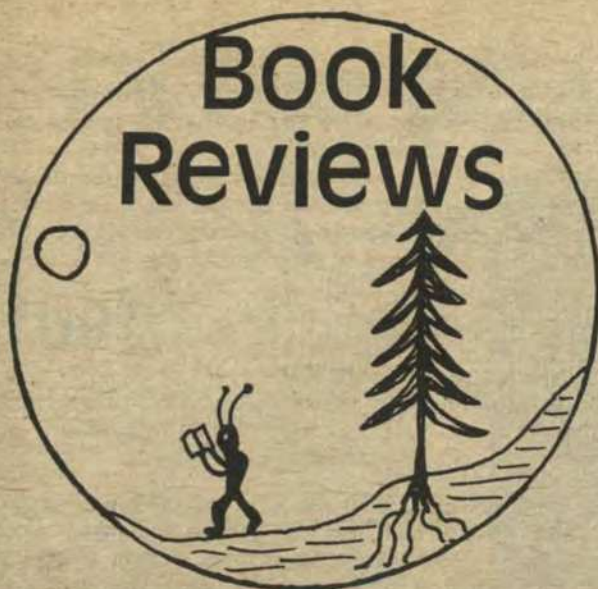
The riches of the Creation are such that this beauty will never end. Our path is in the veins of a leaf, and traced in the deep ridges in the body of a great pine.

The Creation is here. It is inside you now. It always has been. The world — it is wonder. It is magic. It is love.

And it is here — now.

— Gayle High Pine

Book Reviews



Sixteenth Century Mexico: The Work of Sahagún, edited by Munro S. Edmonson. A School of American Research Advanced Seminar Book. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque: 1974. \$15.00 hardcover.

What were the Aztecs all about before and after the invasion of Spain? One can find many different books written on this question, most of them referring to a key reference, *General History of the Things of New Spain*, by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún.

We should wonder how much we can take the works of Sahagún for granted. And who was Sahagún? What was his background? What was his reason for taking such an interest in the culture of the Aztec people?

Sixteenth Century Mexico is a book that should have been written before any other book dealing with the Aztecs. Through the viewpoint of eleven different scholars, one can get better detail on the hows and whys of Sahagún.

The spirit, belief, and society of the Aztecs is by no means an easy task to capture in print, even in the 16th century, Sahagún's time. And since one of the key interpreters of the culture is Sahagún, this book is important as a key to interpreting the interpreter.

Nationchild Plumaroja by Alurista. Illustrated by Esteban Villa & Armando Nunez. Trucha Publications, Texas. \$1.50 paperback.

This book is excellent in some places, and dull in others. The powerful moving illustrations say much themselves, although the art suffers by the cramped design of the book — the illustrations seem to demand more space.

Some of the poetry is excellent, showing the feeling, thought, and expression of many Chicanos today. Still, there are too many poems which repeat the same feelings in the same style with the same phrases, like a scratched record. It is as if the poet remains in just one part of a circle, not wanting to go on the other side to see if more meaning can be gained.

However, there is much worthwhile reading here and excellent illustration.



The Black Sun by Ricardo Mora. Trucha Publications, Inc., Lubbock, Texas. 73 pages, paperback, \$2.50.

This book of poems reveals how a man is able to remain human and project feeling from prison. There is the struggle to remain free within one's own soul and being, constantly keeping images that are outside, cherished and held inside.

There are many who walk in balance, but few who stay in balance. Ricardo Mora seems like a man who gives people eyes through the Black Sun, even though his vision was in seclusion.

Mora's journey is through love, hate, a sigh of hope. An excellent book to read.

—Juan Reyna

People From Our Side, a life story with photographs by Peter Pitseolak and oral biography by Dorothy Ever. 8½ x 10½, softcover, 166 p., Hurtig Publishers, Edmonton. \$8.95.

An Inuit of Cape Dorset, Baffin Island, Peter Pitseolak took his first photograph of a polar bear in the 1930s for a white man who was afraid to approach the bear. Thus began his hobby of photography which has become a record of his people. His photos let you feel the subject matter.

The manuscript upon which the text of the book is based was written by Peter in Eskimo syllabics at the age of 71. It is the moving story of a people: songs, dances, games, hunting, and the everyday activities and emotions which make a people one. It spans the time of the coming of the white man until the mid 1960s, and tells of the life of his grandparents, parents, his own children and grandchildren within the life of his people.

Legends and other Inuit beliefs and practices clash with the teachings of the missionaries, but the text reveals the deep feelings of awe and respect for the Creation.

Toward the end of the story and his life — he passed on in 1973 — Peter wrote: "One of the problems is keeping honest. Years ago, people were so honest that if a man found a cache of meat and was hungry, he would only take a little bit. Then he'd go around the camps and find the owner. He'd say, 'I wonder whose was that cache of meat I ate from?' When someone said, 'It was mine,' he'd say, 'I'm sorry — I was hungry.' And the owner would say, 'That's all right.'"

A good book — recommended.



In the Shadow of a Rainbow, by Robert Franklin Leslie, hardcover, 5½ x 8½, 190 pages. W.W. Norton & Co., Inc. 1974. \$6.95.

This is the true story of an Indian and his friendship with a wolf. The scenery and events which occurred in the interior of British Columbia are described in great detail. The story was first told by Gregory TahKloma, a Tshimshian man, and the author has written a story of compelling strength from TahKloma's diaries.

TahKloma's writings tell of his place in the Creation, and his respect for his fellow creatures. He and a wolf befriend one another, and when hunters threaten this friendship, the man must act to help his friend from being killed for bounty.

The reader is taken through mountains and forests to meet the plants and animal peoples. The cycles of the seasons are unfolded, and you learn the ways of the wolf pack. It is instruction in man's ability to live in harmony with his surroundings and with his self — if he but chooses to do so.

Ascending Red Cedar Moon by Duane Niatum. Harper & Row, Native American Publishing Program, N.Y. 1974. Softcover, 83 pages, \$1.95.

Niatum steps easily back and forth in time. The then and now are interwoven into poems which are picture thoughts. There is music in these poems, and you walk slowly, or dance, or lie upon these landscapes with closed, dreaming eyes.

The poems have the texture of polished cedar — Raven, Killer Whale and Coyote are the knots and swirls of grain. The scent of burning cedar branches in an ancient village is felt, and the smoke slowly spirals upward to create pictures on the face of the moon.

You guessed it — I like these poems, and recommend them to everyone — especially poets. It is good to hear an Indian voice such as Duane's.

Bidato: Ten Mile River Poems by Duane Big Eagle. The Workingman's Press, 1975. 5½ x 8½, paper, 20 pages, \$2.

A group of fifteen poems by an Osage/Sioux poet. The title poem, "Bidato", appears on one of our poetry pages in this issue of AKWESASNE NOTES. Big Eagle is a fine poet, and we recommend this first collection of his works.

The Man To Send Rain Clouds, edited by Kenneth Rosen. Viking Press. Hardcover, \$6.95, paperback edition \$2.95.

This book is a collection of contemporary stories written by native people. The seven authors seek to set down in words the ancient tradition of story telling.

Leslie Silko of Laguna Pueblo is by far the best and most versatile of these authors. She takes you easily into the stories, so that you become either a very interested observer or an almost-participant. Each of her stories is different in content, emotion, and in time. The last story in this collection, entitled "Humaweepee, the Warrior Priest" is one of the most moving stories I've read in a long time.

Anna Lee Walters has a beautiful prose poem of instruction called "Come, My Sons." She also has a tragic story of the massacre of native people by soldiers at Canyon de Chelly in 1863, as seen through the eyes of a young boy.

The rest of the authors didn't move me as much. They were fairly good, but I know there must be many more talented native writers scattered across this continent who should be represented in a collection.

This book points out the need for a good contemporary publication of native poetry, short stories, essays, drawings and photos. Indian humor, so lacking in these mean times and yet such a necessary part of our lives, should also be published. Who does not smile or laugh outright at a good Coyote story?

I recommend this book as a small part of what is happening with native writing today.

Border Towns of the Navajo Nation: Drawings by Aaron Yava. Holmganger's Press, 1975.

In her introduction to Aaron's book, Leslie Silko says in part: "... that Indian life today is full of terror and death and great suffering, but despite these tremendous odds against us for two hundred years — the racism, the poverty, the alcoholism — we go on living."

Aaron Yava, with pen and ink, proceeds to give us drawings of drunken Indians: bottle in hand grinning, passed out, stealing money from other drunks, borrowing someone else's "old lady", passed-out, sleeping it off, being beaten by police, raped drunk and left, children and babies seeing their drunken parents, endlessly sad wine parties, pukings, wine visions, passed-out, sad, dejected, rejected, grinning at the world through broken teeth and passed-out again.

Although I've been on the party trail for many years myself at one time, I take exception to this book. The message is too obvious, and the means repeats itself like a hollow echo. Depressed after looking through the book, I tasted bile. I don't know Aaron's other works, but I sincerely hope that he also portrays the beauty of Indian life — of which there is so much — to provide a vision for us to live and follow.

— Aroniawenrate

Readers, how about reviewing books for us? When you have read a book, tell us your opinion, even if it is just one sentence.

We particularly need people from the various Nations to review books about their own people — while we know if a book on Mohawks is accurate and true, it is hard for us sometimes to know about books on other peoples. We would like to have reviews written by persons who really know what they are talking about.

We need reviews on all sorts of native materials: children's books, history, contemporary fiction, poetry, art, law, education, current struggles, films, film-strips, tapes. We'd even like to have reviews of some of our own publications.

We need reviews of books dealing with all subjects of interest to people who believe in a more natural way of life, of interest to those who seek to live in a balance within the Creation — this could mean ecology, alternative education, lifestyles, or the field of ideas. Another area of great importance are the books on native peoples in other parts of the world.

Your review should contain the information on the title pages: title, author, publisher, publisher's address, price, number of pages, size of books, and other contents such as photos or illustrations. Then, your thoughts — the reviews on this page will give you some ideas of how to go about it.

Remember — AKWESASNE NOTES is a newspaper needing the participation of its readers. Our readers are not to be mere consumers. So the next time you read something, let us know your thoughts. Write:

Aroniawenrate, Book Review Section

AKWESASNE NOTES

Mohawk Nation

via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683

Scientists Make New Discoveries In North America

Our visitors to North America are constantly surprised. Every month or so, there is a news item stating that some stone hatchet or some piece of pottery has been discovered in a cornfield "indicating that ancient tribes lived here 8,000 years ago." Of course— what else is new?

Or scientists discover some "new" fact indicating that our grandfathers weren't quite so dumb and uncivilized as they have been portrayed to be.

Recently, "scientific" attention has turned to the thousands of North American sites where ancestor people built stone structures. They are discovering that many of these structures were sophisticated devices for observing the movement of sun, moon, stars.

Until a decade or so ago, scholars wouldn't take seriously the suggestion that astronomic competence extended much beyond the Greek, Egyptian, Babylonian or Chinese civilizations.

There has been opposition to insensitive scientific exploration without consultation with native peoples, but cooperative ventures in which the dead are not disturbed are becoming increasingly possible between scientists and native peoples.

In the current issue of *Science* magazine, Drs. Anthony Aveni and Sharon Gibbs of Colgate University in upstate New York, along with Horst Hartung of the University of Guadalajara in Mexico, describe their investigations of the Caracol tower at Chichen Itza on the Yucatan Peninsula.

The Caracol is one of the many Mayan ruins at Chichen Itza, a multi-storied structure of circular rooms sitting atop rectangular platforms that one visitor likened to a two-decker wedding cake on the square carton in which it came." In Spanish, caracol means snail shell — the tower has a spiral passage in its inner core, hence the name.

Aveni is an astronomer, Gibbs a science historian, and Hartung an architect. Taking modern surveying instruments, the three researchers have been making sightings through the doorways and windows of the circular portions of the Caracol and across the corners of the rectangular platforms. They found 29 possible alignments, of which 20 actually coincided with celestial objects, like the planet Venus, certain stars, the sun's northernmost and southernmost movement, the equinoxes, where day and night are of equal duration.

They coordinated their work with a parchment written by the Mayans in the 9th Century, hundreds of years before Europeans discovered the earth wasn't flat and that the sun didn't orbit around the earth. It is known as the "Dresden Codex," and it was written about the same time the Caracol was constructed.

Five pages of the Codex pertain to sightings of the planet Venus, indicating whether the planet would be seen as a morning or an evening star, the limits of its risings and settings on the horizon.

"One must have a calendar of some sort to know with any precision the synodic period of an object like Venus," Aveni says. "And the Caracol tower is that — an edifice that contains in stone a way of calculating where and when Venus will be appearing.

Venus is a major element in the religion of the Mayans. Some scholars say that Venus was considered to be a negative effect, and affecting different groups of people at different times. For instance, if Venus rose on a certain day in the east, it was bad for the farmers, or if it rose in another place, it was bad for government officials. Venus was considered to be related in some way to the feathered serpent, Quetzalcoatl or Kukulcan.

The tower is also capable of anticipating the day when the sun's zenith passed directly across Chichen Itza, marking the beginning of the Mayan New Year.

Aveni speculates that the Mayans may have used markers, somewhat like compass bearings, on the sills of the Caracol's windows to monitor the daily progress of Venus as it moved through its eight-year cycle.

Last year, Dr. John A. Eddy, a staff astronomer with the National Center for Atmospheric Research in Boulder, Colorado, reported on the astronomical significance of the Medicine Wheel in the Big Horn Mountains of northern Wyoming.

The wheel is one of about 30 similar forms found so far on the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains. It is a regular circle some 80 feet in diameter, outlined by stones, with a stonepile in the center. Six smaller cairns are located around the edge of the wheel and some 28 spokes radiate out from the central cairn to the rim of the wheel.

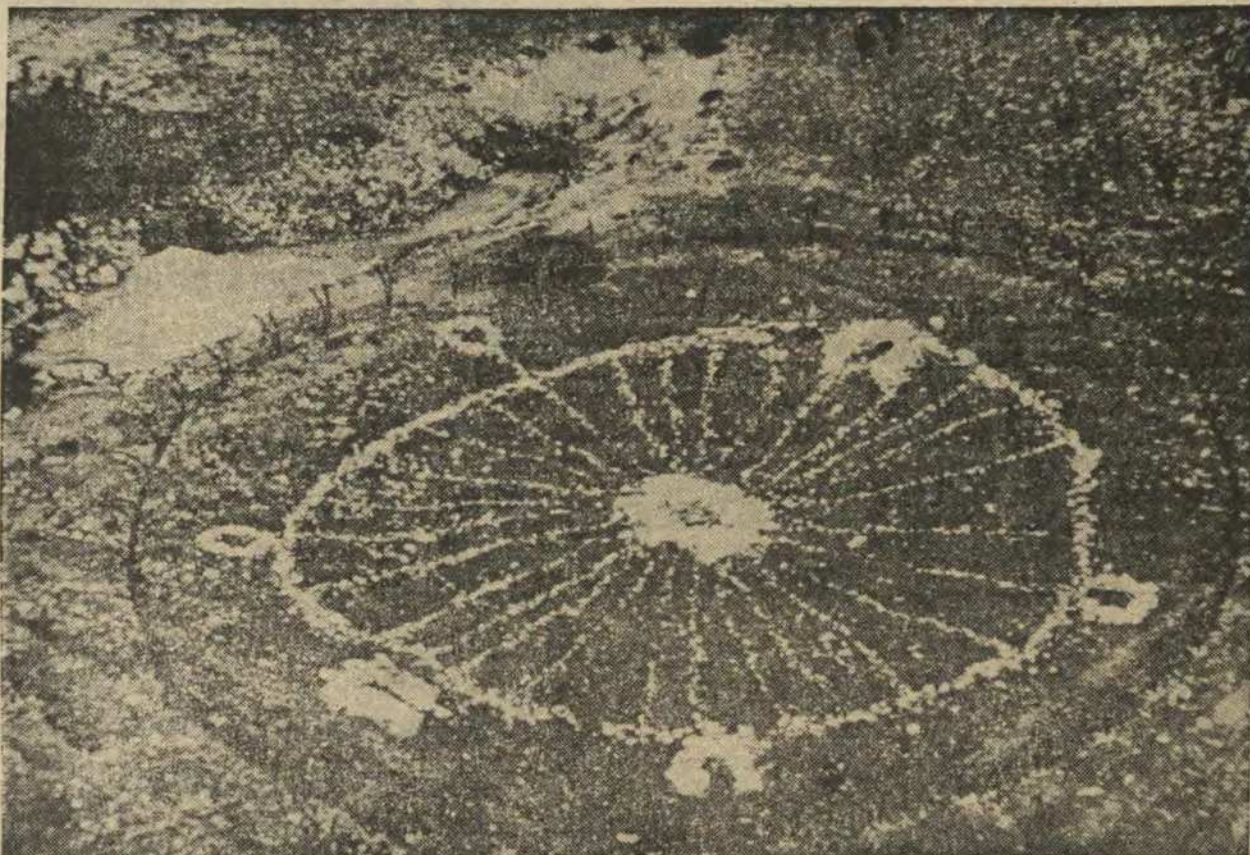
Eddy believes the Wheel was used to schedule the Sun Dance to coincide with the summer solstice. Other stone wheels are in Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Fort Smith, Montana. A circular pattern of wooden post holes was found at Cahokia, Illinois — as well as in the

British Isles constructed at a time when natural peoples still lived there.

One of the Canadian wheels is at La Roche Percee in the Souris Valley near Estevan, Saskatchewan. When Northwest Mounted Police reached the rock on their march in 1874, they saw names indicating that some of General George Armstrong Custer's 7th U.S. Cavalrymen had been visitors — the rock is eight miles north of the U.S. border.

Stable for 200 Generations

Scientists from Northwestern University digging in southern Illinois say their findings may have implications for modern man's relationship with his environment. "Our work at the Koster site shows that early man learned to cope with new environments created by the recession of the glacier within a shorter



The Medicine Wheel in the Big Horn Mountains of Wyoming is 80 feet in diameter. The rim and spokes are made of stone.

time than previously thought," Stuart Struever, an archeologist, says.

Struever admits the findings are causing scientists to re-evaluate their opinions of the earlier generations. "We have to rethink our view of the mentality of early man and perhaps we can learn from his ability to cope with environmental challenges that are similar — in more ways than we recognize — to those we face today. Once early man developed a stable way of life for a remarkably long period of time — more than 200 generations. This is rather surprising when one reflects that [Western] man has had a hard time maintaining stability for two generations."

Struever says also that the North American development is special. "Until the discoveries at Koster and other sites in North America in recent years, most of what we have known or thought about early man in America has been extrapolated from discoveries by archeologists working in the Near East. And that is wrong. Man was different here. We have discovered that these early people developed a way of life peculiar to North America and subsequently developed the way to meet environmental conditions which were sharply contrastive to those faced by early man in Egypt and Greece."

The early American man, grandparents of the present generations, were, according to Struever, "not brutish, stupid or disorganized, and were certainly successful in maintaining their stable existence without the benefit of the technology we depend on so heavily today."



Evidence at Koster indicates the residents there, over eight thousand years ago, were a sophisticated people who ate well on abundant wildlife around them, lived as families in substantial wooden houses, and did not seem to be in conflict with their neighbors. All of that, of course, flies in the face of what children are now taught in schools.

"From the scattered evidence we had previously," Struever says, "it was generally believed that life of early man in America was short, tenuous, and

difficult. So the most exciting thing we have found at Koster so far is proof that this concept is wrong."

United States people are just now getting to accepting that Columbus didn't really discover America, that Abe Lincoln fought Black Hawk in the Indian Wars, and that General George Washington ordered General Sullivan to wipe the Iroquois from the face of the earth, an act commonly called genocide.

Now they may have to drop the old European truth that North and South American native people migrated to the Americas from Siberia over the land bridge that used to cross the Bering Strait. The native people could have told them all along that wasn't true — their histories say that the Creator planted them here along with the mountains and rivers.

However, the demands of Christian doctrine and European superiority kept interfering with objective

study. Now, new evidence is amassing which can no longer be hidden away.

British anthropologist David Davies found in 1973 evidence that South America, like Africa and China, may have been an original cradle of humanity. Tools dating back 79,000 years have been found in Ecuador along with signs of mastadon, giant sloth, giant llama, and cave bear.

Scientists working near Mexico City have found in hard consolidated deposits at a site called Hueyatlaco manmade tools which appear to be 250,000 years old — which means humans were living and working in North America over 200,000 years before they supposedly crossed over the Bering Straits land bridge. In fact, this means humans were here before there was a land bridge to cross, and might have gone into Asia rather than the other way around.

Not only are the tools older, but they are considerably more sophisticated than tools used in Europe and Asia as recently as 30,000 years ago. They include spear points, knives, and scrapers. Found with the tools were bones from an extinct camel, llama, deer, bison, mammoth, mastodon, and a saber-tooth cat. Interestingly enough, the tools were found by geologists, whose minds are seemingly more open than those most prominent in archeology.

Leading Soviet archeologists, however, now believe that the native view is actually correct. Anatoly P. Derevyanko, deputy director of the Institute of History, Philology and Philosophy in Akademgorodok, U.S.S.R., says that the new evidence that man developed in America at the same time as he did in Africa and Europe has "profound implications for all archeology." They have begun to assess the meaning of the new information for their work.

Techniques such as radioactive carbon dating, magnetic methods, fixing the amount of water found in overlying volcanic gas bubbles, the measurements of the depths of the find, and landscape dissection were used, each independently, to fix the dates of the find near Puebla, Mexico.

That fits with finds in the Boundary Waters canoe area near Ely, Minnesota, where skulls representing original man were discovered which tend "to push the date of occupation of the Western Hemisphere by human beings way back," said Dr. Richard Adams, an anthropologist and leader of the team that first discovered the find.

[Thanks to Seth S. King of the New York Times News Service, to George Alexander, science writer for the Los Angeles Times; and to Dennis Sodomka of the Chicago Daily News, to the Associated Press, Reuter, to David Quinter of the Toronto Star, and to Michael Parks in the Baltimore Sun, for this information.]

OUR OWN PUBLICATIONS

Voices From Wounded Knee 1973

This is the story of the liberation of Wounded Knee in the words of the participants, culled from 100 hours of tape recorded while the occupation was in progress. It is accompanied by 200 photographs and several maps. This account is essential reading for anyone who wants to understand this episode of the struggle for human dignity and freedom in North America. Many colleges are now using it as a text. 282 large-sized pages, \$4.95.



BEST OF AKWESASNE NOTES SERIES

[AKWESASNE NOTES has produced almost 50 issues — 2400 pages of articles, essays, and information about native and natural peoples. Only a few of the issues remain in print. So that information of continuing value remains available for study and discussion, this series reprints some of the outstanding articles which have appeared in this newspaper.]

1. How Democracy Came to St. Regis & The Thunderwater Movement

Two historical articles by Rarihokwats, using data from Indian Affairs archives to detail how the bureaucracy deliberately thwarts and destroys native movements trying to help their people. 24 pages. 75 cents.

2. Americanism Is The Answer

Two articles by Jack Forbes on the disease from Europe — Machiavellianism — and the alternative presented by natural world people in the Americas. A companion piece analyzing the effect of discovery of natural peoples upon European philosophy and life by Dr. Gertrude Hafner completes the pamphlet. 75 cents.

[INDIGENA is an organization devoted to the causes of the native peoples of the Americas. As an information center, it works cooperatively with AKWESASNE NOTES in this series of pamphlets, as well as having its own publications available. Write: INDIGENA, POBox 4073, Berkeley, California 94704.]

NOTE CARDS OF THIS ISSUE'S COVER

A packet of 20 attractive note cards with a reproduction of the cover of this issue on one page of notepaper, and three pages blank. 3" x 4". Envelopes are not included, but ordinary envelopes can be used. Only \$1 plus 25 cents shipping.

COMING IN THE NEXT ISSUE: TWO NEW PUBLICATIONS:

CHIMBARAZZO: Native Life in Ecuador
and

TALES OF THE IROQUOIS by Tehanetorens



A Message To All People: Hopi

The Hopi Prophecy is important to all peoples today, for as we understand what has happened to human life in previous worlds, and in the days following the Creation of this one, we can better understand what we human beings need to do today. A different sort of history from that in the textbooks. This new edition is in newly-set type, illustrated by Kahonhes. \$1.00

Native Colours

A book of poetry by Karoniaktatie, covering the years of his life when he was sent out to an Eastern prep school until his return to his people and his beginning to understand the meaning of the Old Ways. Beautifully designed, illustrated, and written by the poet — a colorful presentation. 88 pages, \$2.50.

BIA: I'm Not Your Indian Any More

The story of the Trail of Broken Treaties group which occupied the Bureau of Indian Affairs headquarters in Washington, D.C., in 1972. That story is now history — but the book also contains the Twenty Points position paper presented to the White House which would revolutionize Indian/U.S. relationships. Each of the Twenty Points includes the Caravan's position, the reply from the Nixon White House, and a rebuttal to the White House. This dialogue will be heard into the next decade, and needs to be understood — and acted upon — by every United States citizen and every native person. 8 1/2 x 11, 96 pages, paperback, \$1.95.

BUTTONS



200 Years of Resistance Button

An eye-catching 2" pin of the above design, as an answer to the Bicentennial celebrations. 75 cents each, postpaid. Groups wishing to sell the pins as fund-raisers can obtain 100 for \$37.50 — but payment must be included with the order.

Indigena Pamphlet Series

The Situation of Indian Peoples in Guatemala

A clear explanation of agrarian exploitation, political domination, and ideological oppression of the native Mayan population by foreign interests, and people of their own heritage who have taken another path. 25 cents.

The Rights of Indigenous Women in Colombia

A strong statement by native women, made in the 1920s. Like the others in this series, this pamphlet is illustrated by Miguel Sague. This is not a dry legal statement, but a stirring, strong, emotional manifesto. 25 cents.

Six Nations Indian Museum Series

[The Six Nations Museum is at Onchiota, New York, where from Memorial Day until Labor Day each year, thousands of persons get a better understanding of the Iroquois heritage and way of life. The museum is owned by Tehanetorens, also known as Ray Fadden, Mohawk Wolf Clan. Most of the pamphlets in this series were issued by the Akwesasne Mohawk Counselor Organization, and have been redesigned and reprinted by AKWESASNE NOTES.]

The Great Law of Peace

This is the Constitution of the Iroquois Confederacy, portions of which were adopted in the U.S. Constitution. It is a statement of morals, spiritual belief, and government which is 1,000 years old — and which remains valid for use today. 84 pages, paperbound, illustrated by Kahonhes. \$1.00.

The Migration of the Iroquois

Pictographic writing and text in English, with handsome drawings of Iroquois life by Kahonhes, detailing a chapter of North American history — how the Iroquois migrated from the west to the northeast. Newly reprinted, 75 cents.

When you make your order, please add a small amount to cover the costs of postage & shipping . . .

and if you'll add another dollar or two to buy a book for a prisoner, we'll match it with the same —

Thanks for helping.

STAMPS

200 Years of Resistance Stamps

A sheet of 24 stamps, printed in two colors, for \$1.00 as a means of raising money for AKWESASNE NOTES at the same time you raise consciousness about native people and the Bicentennial. The stamps are on paper that sticks when moistened for use on letters and in public places as mini-reminders. The sheet is perforated. Groups wishing to sell the stamps as fund-raisers can obtain 100 sheets for \$50 with payment made in advance.

Wounded Knee Stamps

These stamps are minatures of poster number three. These are also \$1 a sheet.

Wampum Belts

Photographs of reproductions of the Iroquois wampum belts, with a text explaining the meanings read in each. An interesting way to learn native history. \$1.50.

Costume of the Iroquois

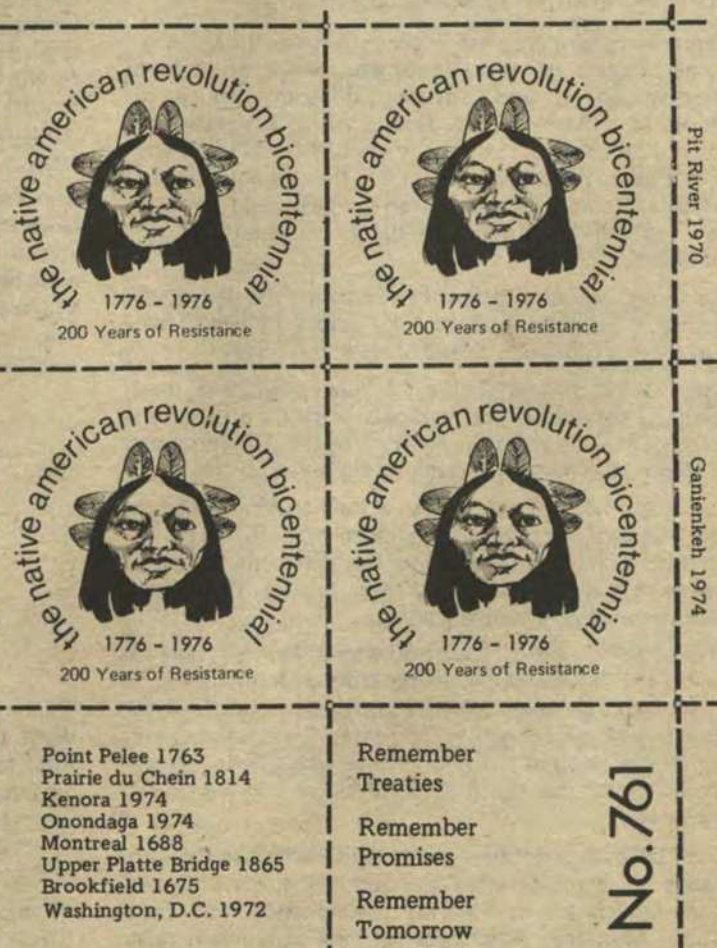
This illustrated book describes in detail how to make the clothing which is traditional with the Iroquois People. \$1.25.

Conservation

A short booklet explaining what happened to the Natural World here in North America from the native viewpoint — and what needs to happen now. Pictographic writing and text. For children and schools, 15 cents.

Deskaheh

A new book in this series, detailing the life of the Cayuga statesman who went to the League of Nations in Switzerland in the 1920s to present the case of sovereignty for the Iroquois peoples. He was exiled from Canada, and died in the U.S. His last famous speech is reprinted. Illustrated by Kahonhes. 50 cents.



RESOURCES

WHOLESALE CRAFTS

Mohawk basketmakers keep turning out fine baskets of many sizes and shapes, using black ash splint and sweetgrass, local materials. Basketmaking is one of many old and useful traditions among the native people that has survived into today, and may help us to survive into tomorrow. Some of the designs go into the distant past: the pack-basket, corn-washing basket, storage baskets. Others are more fancy: sewing baskets, kettle baskets, pin-cushions, strawberry basket. They range in size from the tiny thimble basket to the 24"-high pack-basket.

There is also beadwork: nice earrings, necklaces, hair-ties, chokers and others. Leatherwork is limited, but sometimes is available.

Most are one-of-a-kind items too difficult to catalog. While we can fill some individual orders, we highly recommend the crafts on a discount basis for fund-raising. For a church bazaar, pow-wow, trading post, coffee party, order a 30-day consignment. It will have retail price tags totalling about \$133, and you will be billed for \$100. Before the end of 30 days, you can return any unsold items, or pay for those sold. Paid-for unsold items can be returned for full credit or refund at any time.

INDIAN TOBACCO

KINNI-KINNICK - blends of herbal ingredients and fine tobaccos - is available from us. It is mixed, packed, and shipped from the Mohawk Nation. There is a brochure on the six available blends, but the best way to try it is to order 2-ounce samplers. They are \$1.15 each, or 3 for \$3.15, postage-paid. Test them out to find a favorite for re-ordering in ¼ or ½-pound pouch.

Each blend of KINNI-KINNICK is representative of the old mixtures for social smoking. The blends we have:

Eastern Woodlands
Thousand Campfires
Old Chippewa Straight
Mohawk
Western Plains
Northwest Coast

One blend, Old Chippewa Straight, contains no tobaccos - just barks, roots, leaves, herbs.

For tobacco shops, commercial outlets, or for fund-raising by groups, we suggest a sample shipment of six two-ounce pouches of each of the 6 blends for \$25 postpaid. That's a 1/3 discount. Returns permitted any time.

Order from: AKWESASNE NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Roosevelttown, New York 13683.

TAPES

The tapes listed in this column are part of a series for schools, discussion groups, tape libraries, radio and individuals. The series is always being updated, added to, and this list is mostly new additions.

Prices are for reel-to-reel tape at 3-3/4 ips, or on cassette or cartridge. (please specify!) Institutions are expected to pay full price, but individuals and those who can't afford more can pay half-price.

30 minutes - \$7.00
45 minutes - \$8.50
60 minutes - \$10.00
90 minutes - \$11.00

TWO HUNDRED YEARS: The Native American Perspective is a special hour-long tape highly recommended for listening by school groups, families, and NOTES readers. During this Bicentennial hoopla, the situation of the native people is being overlooked. This tape contains the words of native people describing how history, religion, treaties and education have been used to destroy their cultures and values. The last section views the destruction of the land, sea, and air as products of "progress". The tape was produced by Rose Ann and Walter Kimmell, and is dedicated to the continuing existence of the Point Point Indian School on the Anishnawbeg Nation at White Earth. For institutions, the price is \$10. For individuals, \$5.

DAVID CAMPBELL INTERVIEW: Campbell's new album, "Through Arawak Eyes" has been acclaimed for its sensitivity to oppressed peoples. David relates his own colonial experience in Guyana to that of other native peoples, and speaks of the importance that traditional music has on the current movement. 30 minutes.

GANIENKEH, 1975: Fourteen months after the establishment of a Mohawk camp in the traditional homeland, the settlement is there and prospering, prepared to stay for generations to come. Legal confrontations over the seizure of this site in the Adirondack Park still loom ahead. Produced by AKWESASNE NOTES in conjunction with Ganienkeh Communications. 60 minutes.

I AM A MOHAWK: Ernie Benedict, presently on the faculty of Manitou College, and the founder of the North American Indian Traveling College, talks about a free border for native peoples. He relates the history of the International Boundary between the U.S. and Canada, a line which passes through the Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne, and describes the divisive effects it has had on the community. 30 minutes.

Special Cassette Package

A sampler of four tapes will be sent for \$10, our selection from the diversity of our 100 or more titles, as a means of introducing people to the variety of program material. Send \$10 and ask for "Special Cassette Package".



willie dunn

WILLIE DUNN, a Micmac/Metis folk singer, has a powerful album produced by White Roots of Peace/Akwesasne Notes. Lyrics are on the attractive double-album color. This album will have you tapping your toe - and thinking. \$5.00, available in cassette & 8-track too.

POSTERS



Chief Joseph



Wounded Knee



Zuni Governor



Sitting Bull



Three Sisters



Grandma Hunter



Poundmaker



Shackled Native



Family Portrait



Three Horsemen



Fire Carrier



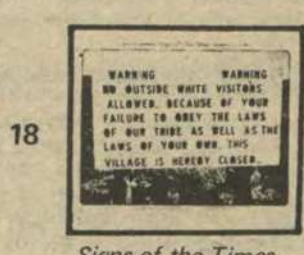
Dan Katchongva



Our Ideas



Statue of Liberty



Signs of the Times



Flathead Chief



Rush Gatherer



Bear-Belly



22 Campesinos



Wintu Woman



Shrine of Hypocrisy



25. Circle of Life



26. Crow Dog

In each issue of AKWESASNE NOTES, there is a centerfold poster. The entire series is available as separate posters, printed on heavy poster paper of various colors. They are 17 x 22 inches. Any combination of posters is available at 3 for \$1 or 50 cents each, plus 25 cents for a cardboard mailing tube. We reserve the right to substitute when we are out of stock. The posters are also excellent fund-raising items for schools, groups, fairs, powwows - 100 can be shipped, an assortment, for \$25.

Order from AKWESASNE NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Roosevelttown, N.Y. 13683.

27. Blackfoot Chief (last issue)

28. Splinters of the Tree (this issue - four colors)

BOOKS

NEW OFFERINGS FROM NOTES

APPALACHIAN JOURNAL: Special Cherokee Issue. \$2.50.

AZTECS OF MEXICO by G.C. Vaillant. The rise and fall of the Aztecs, their government, education, law. A most important account of a great civilization. 51 illus. \$3.95.

BUCKSKIN TOKENS edited by R.D. Theisz. Contemporary oral narratives of the Lakota. \$3.25.

CANADA'S INDIANS: A Minority Rights Group Report. This is the situation today as reported by a British writer. Canada, they're not your Indian anymore either. \$1.50.

CHEROKEE COOKLORE edited by Mary Ulmer & Samuel Beck. Recipes, herbs, wild-foods, history. \$1.00.

CHEROKEE PLANTS AND THEIR USES. A 400-year history by Hamel & Chiltoskey. \$1.50.

CHEROKEE WORDS WITH PICTURES by Mary Chiltoskey. Attractive format of phrases and alphabet. \$1.25.

CLOSING THE CIRCLE: The Urban Indian in Minneapolis. Illustrated. \$1.00.

FULL-COLOR AMERICAN INDIAN DESIGNS FOR NEEDLEPOINT RUGS by Dorothy Story. 32 motifs from the Plains and Southwest, charted for easy use. \$2.00.

INDIAN AND FREE: text and photos by Charles Brill. 160 photos of the way of life today at Red Lake in the Chippewa Nation. A beautiful book, 9 x 12, hardcover, \$9.75.

INDIAN TALES by Jaime de Angulo. Folklore, ritual, hunting adventures, tall tales, allegories. \$1.75.

LAND OF THE FOUR DIRECTIONS by Frederick J. Pratson. A contemporary picture of the Passamaquoddy, Maliseet and Micmacs. Brilliant photography, 131 pages at a bargain \$1.00.

LAW AND THE AMERICAN INDIAN by Monroe E. Price. Chapters on Sovereignty and the Flow of Power, Concepts of Property in Federal Indian Law; Strengthening Tribal Government. Readings, notes, cases. Hardcover, \$16.50.

NATIVE HAWAIIAN VIEWS: a 16-page photographic essay in newspaper format on the Original native Hawaiian People, of which there are only 2,000 now living. \$1.50.

OUT OF THE SILENCE: photographs by Adelaide de Menil, text by William Reid. The art of the Pacific Northwest. While the People lived, the poles lived. Long after the culture died, the poles continued to radiate a terrible vitality that only decay and destruction could end. An extraordinarily beautiful book. \$4.95.

SANDPAINTINGS OF THE NAVAJO SHOOTING CHANT by F.J. Newcomb and G.A. Reichard. 35 full color illustrations, 10 black&white. Authentic forms presented in their original symbolic and mythical context. \$5.95.

AUTHENTIC INDIAN DESIGNS edited by Maria Naylor. 2500 illustrations from Reports of the Bureau of American Ethnology. 3000 years of native American design from all over Turtle Island. \$5.00.

*I sang
to the warm sun
and cold moon
this morning
and offered
myself
to the land
and gods
for them
to
teach
me
the old
hard ways
of living
all over again*

— Ray Young Bear
in *The Portable North American Indian Reader*



PORTABLE NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN READER. The literature of and about native people of the Americas. Tales, poetry, oratory, white accounts of Indian life, and words of native people of today. 640 pages, \$4.75.

PRIMITIVE PEOPLES TODAY by Edward Weyer, Jr. A fascinating view of original life from the tropics to the Arctic. 14 nations included, 212 illustrations. Text reads like a National Geographic, but still an exceptional value. Hardcover, \$3.98.

ROLLING THUNDER by Doug Boyd. A controversial account of one some call a medicine man of today. 273 pages, \$3.45.

SCREE: a Literary Magazine of Poetry and Prose. This issue is devoted to writing by native people or dealing with native matters. \$1.50.

SING OUT! The Folk-Song Magazine's special issue on Native American music. An article by Rarihokwats, with a soundsheet with 11 songs, including the AIM Anthem. Really a good issue. \$1.25.

TUPAC AMARU: The Story of the Inca Revolt Against Spanish Rule in Peru. In Spanish and English. A cartoon book with a powerful message. \$1.25.

WHEN SHALL THEY REST? by Peter Collier. The Cherokee's long struggle with America. "A powerful and intense history," the Library Journal says. Suitable for high school use. 95 cents.

WILD EDIBLE FRUITS AND BERRIES by Marjorie Furlong and Virginia Pill. A little gem of a book with beautiful color photographs. Some recipes are included. 62 pages, \$3.95.

WORKING WITH THE WOOL by Bennett and Bighorse. Rugweaving, supply sources — an excellent complete workbook. \$4.95.

WOUNDED KNEE by Dee Brown. Adapted for younger readers from *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*. \$1.50.

THE BLUE CLOUD ABBEY SERIES

A Benedictine abbey in South Dakota has been publishing small pamphlets of poetry about native peoples. Each is beautifully designed, about 12 pages in length. They are 25 cents each or 5 [our choice] for \$1.10.

A STORY FROM CHARLIE as told to Sister Susan. In calligraphy from Turtle Mountain. **MANABOZHO POEMS** about one of the great heroes of the Eastern Native People by Joe Bruchac.

"IN OLD AGE REMEMBERING..." — poems, pictures, prose.

THE KOKOPILAN CYCLE by Michael Castro. Tales of the Hopi.

SHOOTING AT SHADOWS, KILLING CROWS. Workings from Plains Winter Counts by Kirk Robertson.

GHOST RHYTHMS by Peter Brett. A chapbook of poetry on a native theme by Blue Cloud Abbey. 24 pages, 50 cents.

NOW AVAILABLE IN PAPERBACK

FOURTH WORLD: An Indian Reality by George Manuel and Michael Posluns. A plan for the utilization of technology and its life-enhancing potential within the framework of the values of the Peoples of the Aboriginal World. \$3.95.

PEOPLE OF THE DREAM by James Forman. Based on the tragic last days of Nez Perce freedom. Hardcover \$4.95, now also available in paperback at 95 cents.

RED MAN'S LAND — WHITE MAN'S LAW by Wilcomb Washburn. How "the inability of the white man to understand the Indian point of view has shaped the whole sorry legal history of the Indian in America," says the Baltimore Sun. An important book and an exceptional buy at only \$1.00.

THE SUN DANCE PEOPLE: The Plains Indians, Their Past and Present, written and photographed by Richard Erdoes. A sensitive portrait of a people in struggle. 215 pages, \$1.95.

TALES FROM THE IGLOO edited and translated by Maurice Metayer, illustrated by Agnes Nanogak. A beautiful book of legends answering the mysteries of the northern world. A good children's gift book at \$3.95.

IWGIA SERIES PAMPHLETS

The International Workgroup for Indigenous Affairs is a non-political and non-religious organization concerned with the oppression of ethnic groups in various countries. From Denmark it publishes a series of pamphlets of case studies which are valuable as resources and for use by anthropology classes.

A packet of all nineteen IWGIA pamphlets makes an excellent reference and is available for \$17.00.

DECLARATION OF BARBADOS: co-published by AKWESASNE NOTES. A statement on the role of anthropologists and churches in preventing oppression. 8 pages, 25 cents.

TRIBAL SURVIVAL IN THE AMAZON: The Campa Case by John Bodley. 15 pages, 40 cents.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE INDIGENOUS PROBLEM AND POLICY OF THE BRAZILIAN AMAZON REGION (1957-1973). 44 pages, \$1.20.

THE URGENT SITUATION OF THE CUIVA INDIANS OF COLOMBIA by Bernard Arcand. 28 pages, 70 cents.

THE FOREST INDIANS IN THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION OF PERU by Stefano Varese. 29 pages, 70 cents.

THE ANATOMY OF A LAND INVASION SCHEME IN YEKUANA TERRITORY, VENEZUELA by Walter Coppens. 24 pages, 70 cents.

THE ACHE INDIANS: GENOCIDE IN PARAGUAY by Mark Munzel. Manhunts 1975-style systematically reduce Ache numbers. 82 pages, \$2.00.

THE DYNAMICS OF THE YE'CUANA ("Macquiritare") POLITICAL SYSTEM: Stability and Crisis. 24 pages by Nelly Arvelo Jimenez. 70 cents.

TRIBAL SURVIVAL IN THE ALTO MARANON: THE ARARUNA CASE by Henning Siverts. 82 pages, \$1.80.

RESOURCES

THE BRAZILIAN INDIGENOUS PROBLEM AND POLICY: The Example of the Xingu National Park by Carmen Junqueira. How the Brazilian Government violates its own policies, causing the extermination of native peoples. \$1.00.

NATIVE PEOPLE IN AREAS OF INTERNATIONAL NATIONAL EXPANSION: Indians and Inuit in Canada by Douglas E. Sanders. Legal issues raised by modern-day Manifest Destiny. \$1.00.

AMUESHA PEOPLE OF CENTRAL PERU: Their Struggle to Survive by Richard Chase Smith. A colonized jungle people's fight. \$1.20.

HYDRAULIC DEVELOPMENT & ETHNO-CIDE: The Mazatec and Chinantec People of Oaxaca, Mexico by Alicia Barabas and Miguel Bartolome. Capitalist development means ethnocide as a nation's broad economic and political goals serving the needs of the Mexican state conflict with native people's lands. 50 cents.

THE ACHE INDIANS: Genocide Continues by Mark Munzel. An updating of an earlier pamphlet. 90 cents.

BRAZILIAN INDIGENOUS PROBLEM AND POLICY: The Aripuana Park by Jean Chiappino. 50 cents.

INDIANS OF EASTERN BOLIVIA: Aspects of Their Present Situation by Jurgen Riester. \$2.00.

THE ARAUCANIAN INDIAN IN CHILE by Bernardo Berdichewsky. Hundreds of thousands of native people in Chile suffer from economic exploitation and racial discrimination. 38 pages. \$1.20.

OPPRESSION IN ARGENTINA: The Mataco Case by Nemesio J. Rodriguez. What the expansionist resorts to in order to destroy a People. 39 pages. \$1.20.

THE YANOMAMI IN THE FACE OF ETHNOCIDE by Jacques Lizot. Developments between 1968 and 1975. Effects of missionary action, sanitary problems, prospects for the future. 36 pages, \$1.10.

SOME NEW GOOD MEDICINE BOOKS

BLACKFOOT PEOPLE. Much on the warriors and chiefs: Red Crow, Crowfoot and others. Medicine stories: the Pipe and the Lodge. Beautifully illustrated, like all Good Medicine books. \$3.00.

CHARLO'S PEOPLE: THE FLATHEAD TRIBE. History of the Flathead People, their chiefs, daily life, uses of wild plants. \$3.00.

A HOPI DREAM by the Old People. A visit to the Hopi past through scenes in old photographs and stories from the Old People who lived when the photos were being taken. \$2.00.

INDIAN SUMMER: Summertime things, visits with the Old People, memories, summer gatherings, powwow time, stories of old chiefs and some of today. 8 1/2 x 11, \$6.00.

MY CREE PEOPLE by Fine Day. A Cree warrior and holy man talks about the Old Ways. Thoughts and memories include: dogs, marriage, names, sun dances, plants and cooking. \$3.00.

TEACHINGS OF NATURE. Edible plants, medicines, growing of crops, farming methods among the various nations of native peoples. Names and ways of birds and animals, seasons and divisions of time. 8 1/2 x 11 \$3.50.

THE SPIRIT OF HIDDEN VALLEY: A Good Medicine Story told by Adolf Hungry Wolf. A visit to a high place in the Rockies and the happiness found in recovering the natural ways. An allegory. \$3.50.

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GOOD MEDICINE IN GLACIER NATIONAL PARK. Inspirational photographs and stories from the days of the Blackfoot People. \$1.50.

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LIFE IN HARMONY WITH NATURE. Chapters include freedom in nature, pipe smoking, sweet lodge, making moccasins, beading. \$2.00.

GOOD MEDICINE THOUGHTS. On living a life of Good Medicine, and thoughts on the meanings of that life. \$1.50.

TIPI LIFE. Not tipi-making, but the spiritual side of tipi living. \$2.00.

TRADITIONAL DRESS. Old ways of dressing, moccasins, mittens, beading, necklaces, earrings, and sources for materials. \$3.00.

*Like heraldic crests
these poles told
of the mythological beginnings
of the great families
at a time before time
when animals and mythic beasts
and men
lived as equals
and all that was to be
was established by the play
of raven and eagle,
bear and wolf,
frog and beaver,
thunderbird and whale.*

— William Reid
from *Out Of The Silence*

OLD FRIENDS RETURNED

ALCHERINGA: ETHNOPOETICS. New Series: Vol 1, No. 1. A fascinating collection of songs, poems, stories of tribal peoples from all over the world. \$3.50. [Also, the Fall, 1970, issue for \$1.50.]

AMERICAN INDIAN MEDICINE by Virgil Vogel. Native theories of disease and healing, therapeutic methods, contributions to pharmacology. 584 pages, hardcover only, \$12.50

AMERICA'S ANCIENT TREASURES by Franklin Folsom. A Rand-McNally guide to archeological sites and museums. Contains details on beautiful treasures of our people, plus disgusting things that have been done in the name of science. A guide of where to find them all. 190 pages, \$2.95.

BEHIND THE TRAIL OF BROKEN TREATIES: An Indian Declaration of Independence by Vine Deloria, Jr. The Twenty Points of the Trail of Broken Treaties raise significant questions about the position of native nations in North America. \$2.95.

CROOKED BEAK OF HEAVEN. Masks and other ceremonial art of the Northwest Coast. The catalogue of the Northwest Coast Indian Art in the Thomas Burke Washington State Museum. Beautiful photographs. \$4.95.

DAMS AND OTHER DISASTERS by Arthur C. Morgan. A century of the Army Corps of Engineers in civil [and uncivil] works, including flooding the reservations. "Why do they do it that way? Do they do it on purpose or are they just dumb?" FDR asked. Hardcover only, \$7.50.

GOD IS RED by Vine Deloria, Jr. It is possible to conceive of God in ways different from Western Civilization. Vine shows why the native conception can lead the world to sanity and survival. \$2.95.

GREAT TREE AND THE LONGHOUSE by Hazel Hartzberg. A somewhat anthropological but pleasant book for junior and senior high ages. \$3.75.

GREAT UPON THE MOUNTAIN by Vinson Brown. The story of Crazy Horse, mystic and warrior, from the author's imaginings. Hardcover only, \$5.95.

IN THE DAYS OF VICTORIO: Recollections of a Warm Springs Apache by James Kaywaykla as told to Eve Ball. A living biography of a people, well-remembered and well-spoken. \$4.95.

I AM AN INDIAN. A wealth of stories of times past and of today, legends, poems, from the native people of Canada. Most attractive photos, much poetry. \$2.50.

INDIAN BOYHOOD by Charles Eastman. Autobiographical account of a Dakota during his first fifteen years of life, and how he was taught the traditional ways of his people. \$2.00.

THE INDIAN TIPI by Reginald & Gladys Laubin. A complete guide to building, using, enjoying and traveling with the best of all movable shelters. \$1.95.

INDIAN SCOUT CRAFT AND LORE by Charles A. Eastman. Scouts will enjoy this book, which tells of life as it was lived by native boys and girls of a century ago as recollected by one who left it. \$2.00.

ISHI IN TWO WORLDS by Theodora Kroeber. One who walked from the natural world to the modern world: what he believed, felt, and did. The story of the lone survivor of the Yahi People. \$2.45.

MOUNTAIN WOLF WOMAN: Sister of Crashing Thunder. Edited by Nancy Oestreich Lurie, foreword by Ruth Underhill. Spanning 75 recent years, this is one woman's account of her childhood, her marriage, her religious experiences with peyote. A companion volume to "Autobiography of A Winnebago Indian." \$2.25.

NAVAHO INDIAN ETHNOENTOMOLOGY by Leland Wyman and Flora Bailey. Navajo classification of insects, references in myths, and representation in dry paintings. \$3.00.

NO FOREIGN LAND: The Biography of a North American Indian by Wilf Pelletier and W.G. Poole. Tells of life on and off the reservation, encounters with racism, and awareness of Indian identity, told by a native philosopher. Hardcover only, \$6.95.

NOTE CARDS OF NATIVE WOMEN: twelve different charcoal portraits by Gayle High Pine. With envelopes, \$1.75.

RED POWER: American Indians' Fight for Freedom. Documentation of the current struggles through 1970. A collection by Alvin Josephy, \$2.95.

THE SPIRITUAL LEGACY OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN by Joseph Epes Brown. Native theology in an attractive pamphlet. 70 cents.

UNCOMMON CONTROVERSY: Fishing Rights of the Muckleshoot, Puyallup, and Nisqually Indians. A report prepared for the American Friends Service Committee, with an excellent introduction by Walter Taylor. \$2.95.

WILDERNESS MESSIAH by Thomas R. Henry. The story of the formation of the Great League of Peace, the Iroquois Confederacy and how it was founded. Hardcover, \$2.00.

PACKET OF NATIVE NEWSPAPERS — an envelope of ten newspapers about native peoples, from various nations, funded groups, centers, tribal councils, traditional peoples. A sampling of what's available. \$2.50.

NATIVE THEATRE GROUP FORMING

White Roots of Peace/AKWESASNE NOTES is forming a theatre group to travel throughout North America with consciousness-raising drama. The group plans to begin with a living dramatic experience of the siege of Wounded Knee of 1873 to give natives and non-native people a greater understanding of the meaning of the issues and movement and struggle of native nations.

The only thing holding the group back are Human Beings of all ages to make the theatre a reality. Actors, actresses, singers, dancers, speakers, and those with no performing experience are needed. Middle-aged and older persons are especially encouraged to participate. While native peoples are primarily sought, there are a limited number of parts calling for "white people". The principal requirement is a desire to communicate the truth, to counteract the mis-information of mass media, to interact with people of various backgrounds and beliefs, to work for justice, freedom, and harmony upon the earth. The rewards are not money, but emotional and spiritual satisfactions. However, all basic needs of living, food, housing, clothing, medical and an allowance for personal expenses will be provided. Applicants are, though, expected to provide their own transportation costs to get here.

The group will audition and begin starting August 15, camping together in the Adirondack Mountains. In the autumn, the group will begin to travel throughout North America to re-create some of the native realities and feelings and to involve "audience" in dialogue and other action.

We need to hear right away from any who would like to aid in this project. Write us with a description of your interest, background, age, etc. If you know of people who might be interested in this, please call it to their attention. Please copy or post this notice in schools, native centers, native newsletters.

After auditions, successful applicants will be asked to make a one-year commitment to the theatre project. For further information, contact:

Medicine Story
AKWESASNE NOTES
Mohawk Nation
via Roosevelttown, N.Y. 13683

WHITE ROOTS OF PEACE / AKWESASNE NOTES PLANS MARITIME / NEW ENGLAND TOUR

People from White Roots of Peace will be travelling next Autumn into eastern Quebec, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia — then into Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Massachusetts. The exact composition of the travelling group is not yet known, but tentative plans call for:

- a group of native dancers from Mexico who present dance as spiritual celebration and active meditation, as well as energy & consciousness-raising experiences of beauty.
- a special exhibition of textiles made by native people of Guatemala, together with a marimba of native musicians. The beautiful hand-woven materials will be available for purchase, as well as viewing. Other native crafts will be available.
- workshops of native speakers discussing spirituality, native issues and struggle, history, social change, ways of natural living.
- a sale of books, posters, and educational materials.
- a social doings of Mohawk singing and dancing in which people are invited to participate in the natural ways.
- a film festival containing up to ten hours of movies about native peoples.
- a press conference with local media persons.

The group will visit various reservations, colleges, schools, and community groups for one-day meetings, excellent opportunities for the focusing of energy and attention in an area on native peoples and problems.

Persons and groups interested in having the group visit their campus or community are invited to inquire for more details. Local sponsors are asked to arrange publicity, locate financial support to cover costs of travel and for AKWESASNE NOTES publishing, and to provide facilities for the presentations and meetings. The tour will occur in October, November, and December.



— photo by Bob Wright

Jeronimo Jimenez Bautista
Guatemala's Mam Nation Representative
Extending the White Roots of Peace

A similar tour is in the initial planning stages for Texas, Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Louisiana for next winter.

For further information, about having White Roots of Peace/AKWESASNE NOTES visit your community or campus, please contact:

White Roots of Peace
Mohawk Nation
via Roosevelttown, N.Y. 13683
telephone (518) 358-4697

We constantly struggle to keep AKWESASNE NOTES alive during times when many other newspapers have closed their doors. At one time we were able to manage our mailing list with glue and scissors and lots of manpower, but the growing circulation outdistanced our ability to mail manually some time ago. One means of raising funds to cover the costs of rental of the machines to make and apply the mailing labels is to locate other groups with compatible interests, and sell our mailing list for their promotions. Each request for our mailing list is carefully screened by our staff.

We want our readers to know what we are doing, so if you receive mail from National Indian Youth Council, Native American Rights Fund, Common Cause, etc., this is the reason. Use of our list does not imply endorsement — but as nearly as we know, anyone who uses our list is reputable, and working in directions not dissimilar to our own.

Anyone who does not wish his name to be included in lists we trade off may write us, and his name will be filed separately and will not be sold or traded.



HOW TO SUBSCRIBE TO THIS PAPER

There is no fixed subscription price. But that does not mean this paper is free. Printing alone for this issue costs \$5,000 and typewriters, ribbons, postage, glue, etc. will add almost \$2,000 more — and that doesn't include costs of keeping full-time staff alive. We are not funded by foundations, government, or universities.

Our money comes mostly in small donations from readers. Some people have lots of money, others have none — we ask people to do what they can. If you want the paper, we'll be glad to send it to you. If you want to help with the costs, we will appreciate that — that's how the Creation's cycles keep moving. Another issue will be ready for mailing as soon as funds for printing have accumulated.

AKWESASNE NOTES
Mohawk Nation
via Roosevelttown, N.Y. 13683
telephone (518) 358-4697

KEEP US STRONG!

This paper cannot exist without the support of its readers — you, the human beings who read these words. There are many ways — responsibilities, actually — readers have to keep the paper alive and strong:

- take action on what you read. Write letters, think, give support, change your lifestyle, lend spiritual help, form a community support group.
- send clippings from your local papers. If there is a good photo, ask the newspaper if they will send you a glossy print. Date and identify all clippings. Who will clip in Philadelphia? Chicago? Milwaukee? Omaha? Santa Fe? Laramie? Spokane? Vancouver? Regina? New Zealand?
- send us your own articles, essays, book reviews, editorials, letters, poems, photos, tapes. All can be returned upon request. You are the staff of NOTES.

— Indian education funds available? Title IV? Library grant? Suggest that your group order books from NOTES to boost their selection of native materials, and to bolster NOTES income.

— form a committee, or go by yourself, to encourage bookstores, poster shops, gift stores, tobacco shops to carry NOTES books, crafts, smoking mixtures, calendars. Tell them to write — or send us their addresses. Follow up in a month to see if they did.

You can be a participant in the native causes by helping to spread the word, to create change, to inform. AKWESASNE NOTES is a part of that. You can work together with us, from your own area, no matter how far away that might be in miles. Everything in this issue of NOTES came from someone who cared — and to you all, we are grateful.



— take the responsibility of covering events for NOTES. Send a completed article, or information, feelings, tapes. Conduct interviews. Record speeches and conferences.

— send us mailing lists. We will send sample copies of the next issue. How about a list of tribal members? claims recipients? urban center addresses?

— sell the paper at a powwow, meeting, church, on your reservation, at the Indian center, in stores, in town, on campus. Great chance to talk about the issues for consciousness-raising. Educate your community. You send us 35 cents for each paper after and if they are sold, or 25 cents each in advance.

— let us know of people who should have the paper. Native people in institutions, friends, anyone who may want/need to read NOTES.

BACK ISSUES

Volume One (1969) is out of print, and available only on microfilm. There were ten issues that year.

Volume Two (1970) had seven issues. All are now out of print, available only on microfilm.

Volume Three (1971) had nine issues. All are now available only on microfilm.

Volume Four (1972) had six issues. Three are still in print — numbers 3, 4, and 5.

Volume Five (1973) had six issues. Numbers 3, 4, 5, 6 are still available.

Volume Six (1974) had five issues, and all are still available.

Volume Seven (1975) had five issues. All are still available.

Volume Eight has had two issues, of which this is number two, the 50th issue of AKWESASNE NOTES.

Back issues cost 50 cents each. All available back issues can be obtained for \$7.50 — that will be about seventeen of them as supplies hold.

EXTRA COPIES OF THIS ISSUE

Extra copies of this issue are available for further distribution. We can send one copy or a hundred or more. Distributing this paper is useful to raise consciousness about native causes, and it also helps to finance the next issue. On consignment, the paper is 35 cents each. You pay after they have been sold. If payment is made in advance, the price is 25 cents. For \$5, then, a person could give 20 copies to friends, a class, or pass them around the reservation or church group. For \$25, 100 families on a reservation could each receive a copy.



:LETTERS:

Ainu Oppression in Japan

FRIENDS: I am an Ainu [native people of Hokkaido, northernmost island of Japan] presently imprisoned in one of the prisons of Japan. I should like to express my solidarity and support to our comrades of the Kootenay Nation from the Ainu Moshiri — which means "land where the human beings live". The soul of Ainu and Indian warriors is strongly united despite the fact we are living far apart.

Both Ainus and Indians were born into nature, grew up in nature, loved and were loved by nature, and have been living with nature. We have never "possessed" nature nor have we turned it into our "territory". We have not established a system in which man controls man. Nature and the earth belong to nobody, because they are living as we are living. Nature and the earth are our mother who has given birth to us and helped us grow up.

The whites and the Shamo [Japanese] have chopped up into pieces the Mother Nature and Earth, controlled and destroyed them under the name of "possession". Like the whites invaded your land, the Shamo also plundered and invaded our land. The Shamo killed and enslaved the Ainus who had been enjoying a peaceful life in harmony with Nature. They robbed us of everything we had. The only thing Shamo gave us were poverty, pestilence, and the humiliating name "primitives".

Nevertheless, nobody can rob us of our soul as Ainus, no matter how strong his power may be.

The Ainus have repeatedly fought wars of resistance against the Shamo only to be defeated by the vicious invasion of the Shamo. However, the Ainu wars against the Shamo have been secretly but precisely communicated through generations to the Ainu descendants in the form of poems called Yukara.

The Ainus and Indians are united in that both of us have been the constituents of a free and peaceful natural society. We are united with regard to our way of life and thinking. And we are united in our common struggle.

Moreover, we have more brothers and sisters on this earth. I must reveal the fact that right now in the course of the "development" of the Amazon area conducted by the Brazilian Government, a number of our brothers and sisters are being killed, robbed of their life, and are having their natural environment destroyed. The criminal acts that have been inflicted upon us Ainus by the Shamo in the past and present, and the invasion that was conducted by the whites against you Indians are now being suffered by the brothers and sisters in the Amazon area. The Shamo and the white Americans are now cooperating with the Brazilian Government in their massacre and destruction of the people and nature of the Amazon.

Both you and we have the duty to do our best to defend them.

We Ainus support your struggle and independence with blood and tears of compassion, from the bottom of our heart. We will continue our fight supported by the cries of the numerous heroes and warriors who were killed in their struggle against the Shamo — we can hear their cries within ourselves.

Naohiko Hashine
from a prison in Japan

Bretons: Europe's Indians

NOTES: I hope that the 20th Century will not be the last one for us as Brittons, and so for you as Indians. The coming years must be the ones of rights of difference, of rights of the nature.

Why does white civilization fight us as different? It is not for color of our skin — we Brittons are whites. We must have the right like all other people to develop our own differences, based on different language, different history, different culture, and perhaps different needs.

We know that Brittany is an underdeveloped country. There are not many factories, but overall, agriculture and fishing. The space, the land, and the sea will be our strength for the coming years.

Andre Guiziou
Kerloch, Brittany

Christian First, Indian Second

NOTES: I am writing to have my name removed from your mailing list for the following reason: your publication is bitterly anti-Christian.

I am Christian first, and Indian secondly. I am militantly for my ancestral people, but more than that, I love my Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, who is no respecter of persons, but is the Saviour of all races because with him there are no difference of races.

If you will be honest, true Christian groups are those who are doing most for our people. The one so-called Christian group, the Mormons, are one exception. They will take from our people as they are doing in New Mexico and Arizona, and must not be trusted because they are not Christian.

W. Alpha Williams
531 So. Tenth St.
Canon City, Colorado 81212

A Ganienkeh Reply

NOTES: I am angered to the core of my being by the blatant remarks made by a supposedly-intelligent New York State Assemblyman, William R. Sears [about Ganienkeh].

As I recall, Columbus crossed the ocean to get here — he didn't bring any land with him. When the Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock, the history books never said that in their belongings there was land. Without the help of Indians, they would surely have died. In return for all the kindness and love shown these people, Indians have been beaten to death, shot to death, diseased to death, scalped, burned at the stake, cheated, lied to, made fun of, and other inhuman indignities. And still the Indians have survived.

Mr. Sears stated, "I think it's deplorable that in this great Bicentennial Year, the 200th birthday of America, we sit still and allow a foreign band of renegade Indians to have illegal possession of American soil."

Well, how does it feel, mister?

There is no borderline for Indians. The Iroquois Nations have never been beaten by the U.S., were never a conquered nation. Who, indeed, has illegal possession of American soils?

So what's the big deal about 200 years? Don't get me wrong, Mr./Mrs. America — I love my country, but I also love my ancestors and beautiful heritage of being "Indian". Indian Red is a very good color.

I hear the whispering breezes of the wind telling me there are people in the white Eagle Bay area forming vigilante groups, taking up guns, and are going to shoot Indians at Ganienkeh. I have a suggestion for those restless souls — why don't you get involved in something else? Like worrying about cleaning up the filthy rivers or maybe air pollution.

Please don't get me wrong if you get the impression I hate white folks. I hate no one. That's just a waste of time and effort. Life is too precious. It's just stupidity I can't stand.

Sally Hathaway
Mohawk Reservation 13655



Where Is Joe Lee?

NOTES: I would like to contact my blood brother, Joe-Lee, formerly of the Allegany Reservation, or his wife, Barbara.

Robert Mathews
POBox 1353
Binghamton, New York 13902

Friends In The Netherlands

NOTES: The foundation NANAI [Netherlands Actiongroup North-American Indians] is formed by people who can stand it no longer to watch the Indian Nations of North America still being the victims of aggression, discrimination, and justice and still being threatened with destruction. The NANAI will not cultivate an anti-America mood, but will stand behind a population group who, after ages of persecution and oppression, is now becoming conscious of its self-respect and demanding its rights. The NANAI will support the Indian people in moral and financial ways with all possible means usual in our society.

M. van Kints-Kooke
Kamgras 23
Rotterdam, The Netherlands
telephone 010-209844

The Coming Fire on the Plains

NOTES: I appeal to all of our people from the tip of South America to the furthest reaches of the north: we must prepare for what is to come. For there will come a great fire upon the plains that only a total and true freedom of our people will be able to stop. It is time that we start preparing, for that day is close at hand.

To those who have lost loved ones in the struggle for freedom, I send to you my greatest respect. I wish it were possible to exchange places with them, but one day, they shall set those of us free who have no one to leave in pain.

May the Great Spirit guide each and every one of us in the way that is right for us. I know that many of us grow tired over the years and wish to move on to other endeavors, but let each of us gather strength from our ancestors and think of the life that our children will have to lead and what they will have to go through if we stop fighting now.

I would like to hear from other brothers and sisters if they agree or disagree.

Anthony D'Esposito
Camp 8, 40045
Parchman, Mississippi 38738

Inspiring Resistance

FRIENDS: I hold the Red Man responsible for all the miseries and horrors which have followed since he welcomed the White Invader with friendship and assistance instead of resisting him forcefully at once.

Seriously, I have no hopes for the future and see only ruin and terror for all, but your determined resistance is inspiring.

Milton D. Levine
New York, N.Y. 10023



NOTES: Today, every concerned man's thought should wander to the Canadian North, where the Cree, Naskapi, Inuit and Athapascans are putting up a valiant stand to stay alive as a People and to preserve their beloved way of life. We have to bear in mind that all those people are the last and real "free" ones on the face of this continent. Their only misfortune is that they are living in a land which holds "material riches" desired by "civilized" man.

Perhaps soon there must arise a new way of thinking in White Man's Society, as the storm clouds are fast approaching.
Karl Weber
Dorion, Quebec

Indian Thrift Store

NOTES: You sent me reading materials while I was incarcerated. Now I'm working in the Indian Thrift Store here in Sacramento at 410 Twelfth St. Our store gives clothes, shoes, and other useful articles to people who aren't able to purchase the things they need. We have to sell items to pay for expenses, but we're giving away more than we sell, and as a result, ends aren't being met. We're a non-profitable organization, and all donations are welcomed and accepted.

Frank Bliss
Sacramento, California

Atlas Still Shrugs

NOTES: On April 18, National Public Radio broadcast nationally the Ford Hall Forum originating from Boston's Northeastern University. This edition featured Ayn Rand, novelist, essayist, and philosopher. Coming to the U.S. many years ago from Russia to escape oppression there, she is considered one of America's wise elders by many who see themselves as intellectuals, and has always had a large following in universities and colleges. The following question was asked, and her response echoed across the country.

"One of the foundations of capitalism and one of the foundations of private property is the sacredness of contract. Our country has made what I believe to be sacred contracts in the form of treaties with several Peoples, and these contracts are supposed to run until the sky is no longer blue and the grass is no longer green. I wonder if it would be fitting for the Bicentennial to return some of the Indian lands which belong to these people by contracts?"

Ayn Rand: "If you ask me as a principle, should one respect the sanctity of contracts, yes, among individuals. Not that certain among nations — that depends on the nature of the other nation and on its behavior. But if you want to apply contract law to the Indians I am the last person in the world you should ask because I feel very strongly against it. . . . 'The Indians who were savages here with ghastly tribal rules, including torture of a kind that is now famous as Indian torture, tribes of that kind have no right. Americans or anyone less than that have the right to come here and take whichever he could take because he's dealing with savages as they deal among themselves, by force!'

"We owe nothing to the Indians except the memory of monstrous evils and horrors as done by them.

"Let's say that you may be able to find evidence of the white people treating Indians very badly. I would say that's too bad, but in the whole history of this country, it's an exception. And I would regret it, but that would not give the Indians any kind of rights, because look at their own history. Look at their ideas, look at their treatment of their own members. People who do not recognize individual rights cannot expect to have any rights or to have them respected."

The passages just quoted were taken from a tape of the broadcast, and show how well people from other countries learn from America's history books, John Wayne films, and other educational media, and then sit in positions of public influence and in a few words set the type for the next generation of textbooks, repeating the same stereotyped ideas and continuing the concepts that justify racist actions.

Walter S. Kimmel
Springfield, Illinois

The Last Boat To Somewhere

NOTES: I believe whiteman's civilization in the form of the urban/industrial society that is engulfing the planet is doomed. Human beings will only survive (as human beings and not some form of twisted-addicted social insect) if they turn away from the ways of this society, disavow the state in either its capitalist or socialist form, retribalize and live in accordance with nature. Science must be transformed from a weapon directed against the natural order into a tool of consciousness devoted to rebuilding the harmony between man and the earth of which he should be a part.

I am interested in corresponding with people, Indian, Black or White, or any other who believe similarly, who are seeking some road out of the current technico-political nightmare.

Maurice E. Stover
c/o Marfut
Trail, Minnesota

And For An Encore . . .

FRIENDS: No activist organization of any type is demanding the fundamental reforms we so badly need, and we are actually deteriorating in every direction. We need countless ameliorations, which have to be obtained for the moment, but we face serious dangers in depleted nutrients in the earth and food, poisoned air and water, greater malnutrition and sickness, increased violence, terrorism and guerrilla warfare, and a horrendous waste of time and resources trying, ineffectively, to protect ourselves against all these dangers. This seems to call for attempts at fundamental reform in every direction.

Howard L'Hommedieu
Arlington Heights, Illinois

Lovers of The Creation

NOTES: According to insights of people such as Rudolf Steiner, the Red Race is the oldest race, and the white the youngest. People's most ancient consciousness is what he calls the old clairvoyance, such as people had when the Earth was warm and People were in intimate harmony with living earth consciousness. The Peoples of the Red Race are the preservers of this memory and of this human potential.

The white race has as its distinct domain the most recent consciousness, the individuated consciousness of the rational mind. This specialization makes possible a shaping of external events, culminating in events such as a lone man at the end of a complex process of mechanized events stepping onto the surface of the moon.

I believe there is prophetic significance in the fact that two races of people meet on this continent, each representing an extreme potential of human consciousness. In the culture that is now evolving, I believe that the distinct lessons of each of these peoples explorations of consciousness will be elements in a synchronistic synthesis leading to the evolution of a planetary culture.

A European materialist exhorted the Workers of the World to unite. For the planet conscious, people have worked to build a one-dimensional world on the surface of the evolving planet. Best say, "Lovers of the Planet, Unite in Creation."

Arthur P. Lisch
Summit
339 N. Broadway
Upper Nyack, New York 10960

The Sin of Individualism

PEOPLE: We have moved to this farm to try to live a natural life. Other families were to join us — we never meant to be alone. But they remained in their cities, or want to do it alone — own their land, tools, space, animals, and yes, their children.

Fragmented, we are still searching. We can survive materially. We will be able to grow or find all our own food, make our shelter, and get firewood. But what about the spiritual, and the interrelationships, and our children and the Old People. I speak of this to my friends — the ones who live in the country don't understand, because private ownership and proving something are so important to them. My city friends say yes, it should be that way — "too bad we like the city so much."

I see feminists who don't like children, people who are not in tune with the natural world, and "back-to-the-landers" who are in regular competitive deathly relationships. We are so fragmented.

We search for people. We advertise in Mother Earth News. We take sweat baths, fast, meditate, and we are still alone. We are not so fortunate as you — we have no families, history, roots, mythology, group that we believe in. We have broken from a destructive unhealthy past way of life, and start fresh with no one to guide, no one to do it with, no common ground because people are afraid to share and cooperate for fear of losing something. The simple thing of educating our own children frightens people off.

Earth is too beautiful to live here feeling alone. I wish there were other people around here, old, young, middle, who wanted to live in the country and share gardens and animals and tools and music and life. There are 160 acres and a river and it is beautiful.

Lynne Spaulding
Route 1
Beaver Lodge, Alberta

A Prison Visit Denied

BROTHERS & SISTERS: The United American Indian Culture Group has just been made the victims of the [prison] administration's racism and discrimination. We suffer denials to our proposals and good intentions of making a Native American Indian Culture Group as we see it should be, and not as the white man wishes it to be. Your White Roots of Peace group was denied entry by the administration for no other reason than discrimination.

We look at these things as minor problems, for we do not scream for equality or equal rights as would be their game. We are native people, and don't believe that we have to shine boots for a comfortable stay while we are incarcerated.

Your denial to enter the institution was taken as a great loss to our group, for no contemporary program can replace it. I might say that your last visit was a great impact upon the administration, which never fails to bring the best in them to the surface. Until you are in the area again, we wish you peace, sincerely,

Joseph Marshno
United American Indian Culture Group
POBox 2
Lansing, Kansas 66043

From Big Mac

OHSEEOH, SISTERS, BROTHERS: My name is Ahgonnega Wahhe, and I'm an inmate at the Oklahoma State Penitentiary. I along with others have decided to send you a list of the men here who would like to have letters from some of our people throughout this land. We would really appreciate it if you could put this list in one of your future issues, and we'd answer every letter received.

Thanks, for a good Indian-side-of-it newspaper. We respect you, each and every one for what you do. We are agreed with you on every stand you take.

Think of us as we think of all our people.

- Ahgonnega Wahhe 89962
POBox 97
McAlester, Oklahoma 74501
and
Johnny King 89504 (Creek/Cherokee)
Richard Walker 87260 (Seminole Creek)
Martin Seymour 89747 (Kiowa Apache)
Edwin Pewo 88495 (Cheyenne)
Ken Tinker 88547 (Osage)
Orville Markum 89531 (Kiowa Apache)
Gibson James 89419 (Chicano/Choctaw)
David Barr 88131 (Kiowa)
Elvin Ross 88383 (Choctaw/Cherokee)
Don White 84691 (Seminole)
Norman Fillmore 77118 (Chickasaw)
Derek White 87988 (Choctaw/Kiowa)
William Webster 88013 (Winnabago/Sioux)
Robert Anderson 88196 (Creek)
Nick Worcester 88397 (Chickasaw)
Felix Fesmire 77292 (Cherokee)
Reno Francis 81001 (Seminole/Creek)
Chester McDonald 77519-1 (Cherokee)
Robert Gooday 85704 (Comanche/Apache)
Mario Sams 93825 (Choctaw)
Richard Porter 85391 (Chickasaw)
Moses Pistubbee 91782 (Choctaw)
Charles Titus 91439 (Ponca)
Cornell Topah 90379 (Kiowa)
David Sands 88338 (Creek)
Melvin Allison 91480 (Cherokee)
Wesley Old Bear 91041 (Cheyenne/Arapahoe)
Rick Phillips 73900 (Sioux/Blackfoot)
Jody Riley 88312 (Cherokee)
Nelson Curtis 91046 (Cheyenne)
David Cloud 90371 (Seminole)
Bobby Cass 88770 (Chickasaw)
John Whitten 90392 (Apache)
Ronnie Jones 83743 (Choctaw/Cherokee)
Larry Yellow Thunder 90619 (Sioux)
Melvin DeLodge 88527 (Ponca)
Roy Mosher 895855 (Ojibway)
Larry Dry 90836 (Cherokee)
Pittman Tims (Choctaw)



Appreciation from Prison

NOTES: I want to thank the Great Spirit for the concern you have for the Red Brothers who are incarcerated across the country. The book that you sent I will pass on to the rest of the brothers.

We have various committees within the American Indian Cultural Group. In January, 1976, two programs were initiated by the Indian inmates at San Quentin: a legal workshop which deals specifically with the legal problems of Indian inmates here, and a Native Religion Workshop designed to re-introduce the native American felon to his culture and traditions. These kind of committees will enable Indians incarcerated to continue personal study in specific areas of interest and concern, to provide him with the ammunition to attack concepts and beliefs in his own way. It is this kind of reinforcement which can help to make a reality the rights so long categorically denied to Indian people incarcerated within the prisons of this country.

Narcisse W. Thunder Shield, Secretary
American Indian Cultural Group
c/o Mr. Miller, CCI Sponsor
San Quentin State Prison
Tamal, California 94964

A Prison Murder

NOTES: Today, April 25, 1976, I and nine other inmate witnessed a murder of one of our Indian people.

This is what I saw. We were let out of the disciplinary unit building for some exercise. Two of the inmates started fighting, one white, one Indian. A guard shouted for them to stop. They broke up, and the Indian started walking off. The guard then fired a shot in the air, and told Ray, the Indian, to walk to the door. He started toward the door, then stopped, turned around, took three steps, then turned back around and started walking back. The guard that fired the first shot was only 20 feet away, yet he shouted for the corner tower guard: "Shoot him!" And the guard fired one shot from a .30-caliber carbine, hit Ray in the back behind the heart. The guard that ordered him shot had only three days before testified against Ray in court, which he got 35 years. Ray was a Seminole.

The guard that gave the order to shoot Ray was only a CO1, the lowest rank officer there is.

This place is a death trap for anybody. The Indians are deprived of all rights concerning group meetings, and they won't let a councilman from any tribe help us or even talk to us.

We need lawyers to help us with appeal and other legal work. Also, we are trying to get it set up where we can have our hair grown long. But we will need outside help.



One week later: An inmate in Cell 17 cut his heel-string. On the morning of the 28th, this same dude who cut the night before cuts his arm because he didn't get any medical care. On the 29th, another inmate cut his arms from wrist to elbow. Said he was paranoid because of Ray's murder, and that they put him in Ray's cell.

We have heard from one of the guards that if we did get to say something about what we saw, it wouldn't do any good. The news reporters have been told we, the ones on the rock, are trouble makers.

I know if I was shot in the back, I would want somebody to help bring justice to the one who shot. I really hurts me to see a friend go down like that. It could have been prevented if they only tried. They had three rifles on Ray, and five guards on duty at the time. They could have overpowered him instead of ordering him shot. I am angry because I can't do more for my friend, and I am more angry because no one else has done anything about it.

So I want Ray Herrod's people to know that I have tried to help, and that I have a very sad heart over my Indian brother's death.

Rollo R. Waters 91392
Oklahoma State Penitentiary
POBox 97
McAlester, Oklahoma 74501

An Open Letter to Prisoners

NOTES: This is an appeal to all of you who are incarcerated in prisons across this land of ours.

Let this 1976 be a year for the truth — to return to our people, our tribes, and our way of life.

While the American People celebrate their Fourth of July and enjoy the hot dogs and teach their children to play with fireworks, I have nothing to celebrate except to hold respect and mourn my dead forefathers and grandfathers. Our Indian People have been paying with their blood and lives for over 300 years for the real meaning of FREEDOM.

While the Americans were gaining and winning their independence from their mother land with their right hand, they were at the same time oppressing and stealing Indian lands with their left hand.

I know that in this year of 1976 there will be Red-White-and-Blue Indians, Urban Fort Indians, who will dance on their grandfathers' graves for a few U.S. dollars. While Indians are killing Indians, the U.S. Government is rejoicing because we are destroying ourselves.

I ask those who consider themselves native people of this land to join in prayer on July 4, to try to find the real meanings of Freedom and Justice, to stay away from American lies like Santa Claus and Easter Bunny, Halloween Goblins, and get back to rediscovering your people, your culture, and find out who you are and where you come from.

Lewis John Ballard 14638
POBox 7309
Boise, Idaho 83707

Another Prison Atrocity

NOTES: I'm writing to let you know of the situation here. Recently myself and Francis Jessepe, both Pottawattomis, were placed in the maximum security unit here for the kidnapping and holding six prison personnel hostages.

A newspaper in this small town wrote a story that gave the impression we were doped up and really had no purpose in what we done. They completely distorted the facts as they are and twisted the story so nobody knows what it was for or what actually happened.

We held the six hostages, including the deputy director of the prison. We took them to our Indian Culture room here at the prison, and requested to speak with the State Corrections Secretary, Mr. Robert Raines, also the director of the prison, Raymond Maynard. After about 15 minutes, we released them unharmed, and surrendered peacefully once we seen the authorities were unwilling to negotiate and were preparing to charge. Our intentions were neither to hurt anyone, nor to offer ourselves up for slaughter.

We only wanted to bring to people's attention that here in this prison exists an Indian Culture Group, and we are being unnecessarily discriminated against. The Culture Group was started here in 1972 and was for a while the showcase of the six or seven inmate self-help and religious groups. We set the precedent for many rules governing the inmate groups, and we feel we've accomplished many good things that would not have been possible otherwise. But lately, the group has deteriorated to the point where an outsider could not even recognize it as a Culture Group. The group's failing, we feel, is because it is victimized by the prison officials' campaign to destroy it. They go about this in many ways, and seem to come up almost daily with new rules that block our every attempt at expanding, improving, or restoring the group to what it once was.

We are discriminated against in that only our Indian Culture Group, out of eight other groups, has its guests stripped and shook down and our women even asked by guards whether or not they wear underclothes. This type of harassment is keeping guests away. Some of our women have refused this strip-down and were denied admittance. Guards demand more than the usual identification from our visitors and have turned them away when not enough was produced. It is hard to get our people to agree to attend our meetings when they know they first must submit to treatment such as this.

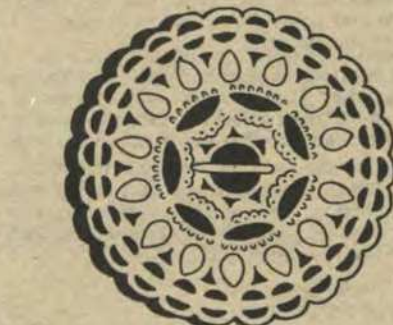
We wanted recognition for the wrongs done us — instead the newspapers recognized us as two doped-up Indian savages. The paper even says we attempted to set fire to the hostages. So instead of our call for help being answered, it looks like we may get so much time when we go to court for this that we may never again get out of here.

I hope you will print this, and I hope to hear from someone. I'm not allowed any reading material, so it is a lonely existence when all tomorrow means is getting up, going nowhere, eating and sleeping in a cold dark cell and never being able to see the sun.

We have been charged with six kidnappings, 5 robberies, and 3 assaults. In a town of this size, where we have been on the front-page three times this week, it doesn't seem likely we can receive a fair and impartial trial.

I would like to hear from anyone that can help or knows of anyone that might be able to help us out in any way.

Down, but not out of the struggle,
Jimmy Puckee 8481
Francis Jessepe 7692
POBox 2
Lansing, Kansas 66043



Greetings to Walla Walla

NOTES: Your group, White Roots of Peace, were here at the institution Oct. 11 to bring back that spiritual awareness we native people need so much. After reading some of the back issues of NOTES, I came to a conclusion that your paper and your philosophy is a big asset to our way of life. If only there were more people with your thoughts and concerns we wouldn't be in such a big uproar as we're in now.

I and the rest of the brothers of the Confederated Indian Tribes here thank you for bringing us the good word that there are people out there who do care for the direction of our people.

Bruce Martinez
Washington State Penitentiary
POBox 520
Walla Walla, Washington 99362

Xicanindio Power

QUERIDO GENTE: We join both mind and spirit with all people who group together to dedicate this year to all who have sacrificed in order for others to live. We join in solidarity with all comrades in the movement to dedicate this year to the revolution, this year of the resurrection of the mind, to salute the warriors who have fallen in the line of duty, and others who have made sacrifice other than in the form of death.

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| Richard Oakes | Vern Bellecourt |
| Ricardo Falcon | Clyde Bellecourt |
| Pedro Bassonette | Jose Martin |
| Luis Valdez | Hank Adams |
| Luis "Jr." Martinez | Ricardo Florey Magon |
| Reies Tijerina | Dennis Banks |
| Lance Yellowhand | Juan Carlos Coral |
| Russell Means | Jeanette Bissonette |
| Olga Talamante | Reies Tijerina Jr. |
| Leonard Crow Dog | Edith Eaglehawk & children |
| Ruben Salazar | Jose Sandoval |
| Ernesto "Che" Guevera | Hilda Rose Good Buffalo |

Also with due respect to those whose names haven't been mentioned, such as the two hundred who died from the aftermath of Wounded Knee, the uncounted numbers from the East Los Angeles riots, and any and all retaliations from this country's police force. Also to everyday routine of the prison life where backs against the wall is law. Unidos venceremos.

Ricardo Bernard N40162
POBox 535 D29
Corona, California 91720



California Prison Appeal

NOTES: We the Indians of the California Correctional Institution have formed a native American culture group, "Red Wind". Would it be possible for you to be of any assistance to our group in re-educating ourselves to the natural way of our forefathers? We would also appreciate any literature and addresses of other Indian groups that we could contact concerning our needs.

Robert M. Fern III, Secretary
POBox 608 147
Tehachapi, California 93561

Legal Victory for Prisoners

NOTES: I come to you with this letter in behalf of my red brothers of the Nebraska Penal & Correctional Complex at Lincoln, Nebraska, and in my official capacity as the chairman of the Native Americans Spiritual and Cultural Awareness Group, which was founded and formed under a civil rights suit in "Indian Inmates vs. Warden Wolff cv. 72-L-156 Nov. '74 in the U.S. District Court for Nebraska after two-and-a-half years of legal struggle.

The Court decreed that we be allowed to exercise our traditional rights to wear our hair in our traditional style, our rights to exercise our religion to worship our Great Spirit; to have our cultural education, and to receive all the benefits of the non-Indian self-betterment clubs within the Nebraska State Prison.

NASCA is based on our religion and culture to bring awareness of our way to our Red Brothers here. Since the "Indian prisoners offenses" are 97% alcohol related, I have implemented an Indian AA program geared to our problems, a psychological orientation program to bring awareness of our psychological make-up. We are now in the process of having our NASCA newsletter published and to have NASCA incorporated to secure necessary funding for our programs.



"Unity and solidarity" is our voice, but not our practice. Some of us are like infants learning to walk the ways of our ancestors. Some of us are mentally dead. The Caucasian Mentality has calloused the brain. So we will continue the endless task of our ancestors to weave the lifeline.

Today NASCA is in financial difficulty, but we can send \$5 to AKWESASNE NOTES from our treasury to help defray costs.

Enoch Robinson, Chairman
Melvin White Magpie, Vice-Chairman
Warren Dittich, Secretary,
Walter Walker, Treasurer
NASCA
POBox 81248
Lincoln, Nebraska 68501

Western vs. Naturals

NOTES: Your latest issue carried some of the most truthfull and well-expressed articles I have read. The essay by Sotsisowah has inspired me to a response.

Nations have stolen other nations' territories, dominated their peoples, been a great power (materially speaking) and fallen or became merged at last to another. At different times in history, the Turks invaded Greece, Japan invaded Manchuria, China invaded Tibet, many nationalities invaded North America. Some invasions were triggered by a need for food, others by a desire for territory, overpopulation was another motivator, and escape from political oppression was another.

Simple people, living humbly, have forever been jostled, exploited, "relocated", and changed by these upheavals of nations. The force usually behind all upheavals is a "government" or group of people that control the rest.



I wish I could pin my oppressor as "Western man", but I am a Western man, or rather woman. I find, however, that my oppressor seems to be a set of ideas with its concurrent actions and reactions. Or more fundamentally, it is a certain vibration that people live into.

Christianity cannot be said to be a failure, because it has never been tried. Most of the so-called Christian organizations today have nothing whatever to do with the teachings of Jesus.

I say the cause [of division among people] has been around since and whenever the material mind has set itself up in opposition to the spiritual mind. The vibration began when people lost or are losing themselves into thinking that the material world is the only world, and the spiritual virtues and ideals represented by such men as Crazy Horse and Jesus are no longer the personal spiritual goals of each one.

So I would like to suggest a slightly different title for Sotsisowah's essay — "Material Peoples/Spiritual Peoples" might seem a little preachy and judgmental, but certainly seems more accurate in Sotsisowah's context.

There is only one person we can with certainty change, and that is ourself. When we seek the understanding of situations, the peace, the self-control, the wisdom, and the courage in prayer as L.J. from Kansas suggested in the letter to NOTES [Early Spring issue], there we find (receive) the help and the answers.

Outer change (trying to change others) is far more difficult and requires greater spiritual development and perception to be effective. In short, a person should pray to receive how and what he should do. Then he should sift and sift over it, make sure it is right, and then do it.

Rarihokwats has said it would be best for white people to straighten up their own people, and certainly this is true, to the extent that they are our own more than any of our other human brothers and sisters are our own. And I'm sure he realizes the task which he speaks of is going to be difficult, for he knows he will have to straighten up the Dick Wilsons of the "Indian World" if he is to ask me to straighten up the Rockefellers of the "White World".

In the struggle for the cause of "freedom and justice for all" the object is to get the most good done for the cause. Going to jail or being assassinated may be, for some, the very purpose for which they were born. No one would doubt the great good done the Black cause by Martin Luther King's supreme sacrifice after all his painstaking work. For others, like Black Elk, it was following the Inner Voice of Divine Wisdom to wash dishes in a military outpost to maintain his beloved mother, thus, living to fight another day in another way. His works, "Black Elk Speaks" and "The Sacred Pipe" have done more to preserve Native American ways of life and inform the oncoming generations of all races about these matters than if he had just fought and died like many of his kinsmen did.

One can either force change or educate for change, but first we must learn who or what is the Enemy, and where best to attack Him [Her?]. This is why I am so thankful for AKWESASNE NOTES and the forum it is providing with the exchange of ideas and enabling people to contact and align themselves (black, red, or white) with others.

Robbie Pardue
Mountain View, Arkansas

Credit Richard Towe

NOTES: The Early Spring issue carried a beautiful message, "The Children Will Save Us." This work was typed and sent by a third party who mistakenly used my name. Please let your readers know that the author of that message is Tatoke Inyanke (Richard Towe), Kiowa/Cheyenne. The fine letters of response that have been sent to me are being forwarded to him. You can contact him directly by writing Richard Towe D2, Box 37, Holman Station, Alabama 36503.

Jackie Iozzi
Union, New Jersey

WBT/SIL Defended

NOTES: I happened to pick up a copy of your Early Spring issue in the Calvin College Library. For a large part, I was favorably impressed, but having a strong interest in the work of Wycliffe Bible Translators, and reading your article entitled "Christian Missionaries and Cultural Imperialism" I had some questions.

First of all, WBT/SIL has not been banned from Mexico. In fact, the Mexican Government not only tolerates them, but supports them. Secondly, the paragraph in the introduction is not only terribly misleading, but simply is an imprecise definition or explanation of the purpose of WBT/SIL.

WBT/SIL is strongly conscientious in upholding the culture of the people they work with. It is true that they go with a specific Christian mission in mind. But this mission, they believe, transcends culture, rather than changes it. Surely, at times, certain changes are made which are morally incompatible with Christianity, but more and more emphasis is being put on leaving the cultural standards as they are.

One frequent result of Wycliffe's work is an upsurge of self-respect by the groups they work with. Having their own language written down for the first time gives the people a new realization of the importance and validity of their own language and culture. It has been the case that following this return of self-respect, there has also been a refusal to continue the near-slave labor for the non-native land-owners and employers. This has led to strong opposition to Wycliffe by the landowners. It is my contention that it is the influence of these wealthy landowners that has gotten the government and well-meaning liberals into the cause against Wycliffe.

I have yet to hear a complaint against Wycliffe from one of the indigenous people. Rather, criticism comes from outsiders. Shouldn't AKWESASNE NOTES support this positive influence rather than support its banishment? Certainly Wycliffe members have made mistakes, but their intentions are for the indigenous peoples and not-at-all those of paranoid anti-Communists. Perhaps you would do better to reconsider the accusations of the officials who may feel threatened by the resurgence of 'those docile tribesmen' and opt in favor of a conscientious and helpful group of linguists.

Tim Slager
Monroe, Washington



Against Self-Castigating Whites

FRIENDS: I enjoy NOTES very much and I am with you and I support your right to self-determination. On the other hand, I am appalled by the myriad of essays appearing from the hands of self-castigating Whites. I wonder about their sad state. Sometimes I think they are more in need of a friend than the Indian, because they seem to have lost all sense of proud identity.

I refuse to tear myself apart with tons of guilt over what my ancestors did. I cannot change history with self-accusation. I do not have time to cry over [what happened in the past.] What I am responsible for is what I do today to help current injustices. If I sit back, then I am guilty.

You Whites who hate Whites — how can you be friend to the Indian? You do not have time to befriend anyone. You are too busy tearing yourselves to pieces. How can you teach anyone else pride if you cannot demonstrate pride in yourselves?

I have my heritage. I have my way of living. It satisfies me. Then I have more energy to continue to fight injustice. Yes, I believe in self-determination for the Indian, for the Black, for the Oriental, for even the White. White Man, why don't you stop all of this breast-beating, claim your own identity, then go forth to do your job? You are useless with those tears blinding you.

Hazel M. White
Kansas City, Missouri

Looking For A People

NOTES: I have just read the essay by Jason Mahadeva in the last issue. I too have many of the same ideas and I would appreciate hearing more from him. I too have been searching for a deeper meaning of life — it made me feel good to hear from another white American who feels the same as I.

I have some Indian blood, but I do not claim to be Indian. I was raised white and I know not of my Indian culture. I will not be like other whites who take advantage of their small amount of Indian blood to get grants and special programs when they know only white ways.

I am without a people now. But I am not lost, because I am looking for the truth. And I am starting roots into my Mother Earth and the sprouts are new but strong. At the age of nineteen, I am reborn.

Tina Trimm
Pontiac, Michigan

Preaching To The Saved?

NOTES: I would like to voice my disapproval for the section for white people in the last issue. Being white, my opinion may not be worth much, but here it is anyway.

I read NOTES so I can try to keep up with current events in the Indian world. The section for white people was good, but I got the feeling that none of the white people reading the article were affected by it because they are the ones who want to help the American Indian regain his place in the world. I felt as if these articles were directed toward me and I was offended because the whites described in these articles were not at all what I am like or for that matter, none of my friends are like that either.

Howard B. Hoke
Elkins, New Hampshire

Chris Eckhardt Exists

NOTES: Re your Winter Issue "Anatomy of an Informer." Pax Today was not a phony or fake newspaper. It was registered in the Library of Congress. It's quite true that not many issues were printed. It was started on a shoe string with no grants, and Chris Eckhardt ended up owing a debt to the printer, a debt he is now paying back.

When Doug Durham said that Chris Eckhardt and Paula Ecklund knew nothing about his going to the FBI, that was true. I happened to be watching the news with Chris when the news of Durham broke — it freaked Chris out.

We agree with the aims of your paper. We try to work for the same goals in Canada.

Margaret Eckhardt
Oakville, Ontario

Babies With the Bathwater

NOTES: Having read "The White Indians", I can only say that never have so many babies been thrown out with the bathwater. This kind of writing is the kind that fills all the trendy new magazines. It is becoming impossible to find a publication anywhere that conveys the kind of thinking that once promised some better kind of society. Everyone chants the litany of left or right, and both left and right are almost indistinguishably imperialist.

That means that AKWESASNE NOTES is more than the paper that informs Indians and their affiliates and supporters on what is really happening on the reservations. It means that NOTES is the last voice in the country to sing a Turtle Island tune, to uphold Nature and Nature's God and the Way that is not contrary to every spring, star, and blood vessel. That is why I feel somewhat ferocious when I read an article designed, apparently, if at all, to strike your non-Red readers with embarrassment and dread so that they retire in confusion to the mindless din of right and left.

Well, I won't. NOTES is the only canoe afloat and I intend to hang on to it all the way down the rapids.

Everybody, not just Indians, becomes a fantasy in the press. Young girls become sex fantasies, athletes become macho fantasies, nickle-a-dozen political hacks become savior fantasies for the voting damned. It fills up the holes where the news is missing on all the important matters from the persecution of Crow Dog to the way Watergate has gigantically increased corruption in Government.

The new attack on the Indians began in the '60s as part of the attack on everything authentic in the country. That was when Dulles parlayed the Cold War into a permanent Military-Industrial complex, when the CIA was created, when the McCarthy Witch Hunt was in full swing, when the corporations began to conglomerate, and when they learned to use the fantasy of the UN to go international and become financial empires to themselves alone.

"White Indians" are to Red Indians what sugared corn flakes are to corn. They are a highly-processed product by which a genuine need can be profitably exploited. Every supermarket is stuffed with junk food, and the ignorant get hooked on debased products.

The empire has always instituted radical patriarchy as the psychic base for the dominion of power, militarism, and money. Rome imposed the Salic Law on every conquered tribe of Europe, and centuries later, Freud read the results in shattered souls and took them for facts of nature. Now Freud has been instituted everywhere in this country to wipe out the American matri-focal family. The TV pours out the message every day in images of corrupt or imbecile mothers and saintly fathers. Machismo is the fad of the decade, and the Indian patriarch is the first White Indian of them all. The result has been the collapse of the family — the same kind of disorder that struck the Indians when they were converted.

The empire is not a tree. It is a stranglevine that grows over a tree, crushing the branches and shutting out the light and falling only when the dead tree rots through. The fruits of the stranglevine are all on the top where only the high-climbers can reach them, but the folks on the ground can always pull up its roots. Since the empire rests on the power of men, men can be free any time they love freedom more than they cherish their personal monarchies.

At the moment, there are not many Abrahams, not many Peacemakers.

Joan Matheson
Valentine, Nebraska

More Spiritual Understanding

NOTES: Your last issue was fantastic. I don't know how you keep putting out such good work — clear, honest, and from a high spiritual understanding. But please, keep on with it. Thanks too for reprinting my talk with Rarihokwats ["The Natural World Is Not A Free World" from East-West Journal]. I'm glad more people can read it. My heartfelt thanks and support to you,

Nani Sheppard
Fourth World
102 Charles 1444
Boston, Massachusetts

Bigoted and Proud Of It

GREETINGS, Editor: What do you people want, to be like niggers? Well, maybe you are. You's must submit now. You can't win.



We read NOTES also, but I'd bet you'll never print this in your NOTES paper. You people are sick. Half breeds, race mixing is a sickness.

We know every move you people make. Some of our members even look like Indians.

We still don't like Indians. What we call nigger Indians. We can have their women any time we want. For a bottle of cheap wine.

Your's for God, Country, Home & Klan,

Wm. M. Chaney, Grand Dragon
Greenwood, Indiana 46142

P.S. St. John 8:32. Acts 17:26

Sharing A Hope, A Dream

AKWESASNE NOTES — a newspaper, a dream, an emotion, a reality, a way of life, and above all, a hope.

I read an issue. Wanted to help, somehow, some way. Was afraid to interfere, afraid to be in the way, wanted to learn, wanted to teach, wanted to meet people who were creating instead of destroying.

I saw a miracle. I saw the impossible. I saw a house, a bare building with no furniture; no lamps, only raw bulbs; no file cabinets, only cardboard boxes; no desks, only make-shift tables; no shelves, only boards kept apart with blocks; no beds, only sleeping bags; no working hours, only people. And somehow the job gets done — somehow the paper was written, somehow put out, somehow mailed out. I saw it happen. And though I saw it, I kept saying "how?" "By whom?" "Where?"

And emotions? Thoughts? Feelings? Even now when I think of it, I experience a thick wall of love, community, friction, caring, concern and oneness enveloping me and protecting me against the outside world.

Reaction? I had to help. To become. To protect. To share. And now, to write. My heart, my tears, my love go with this.

Nettie Tamler
Connecticut

Medicine People Needed

NOTES: On my arrival at the Sioux Falls Pen, I was informed by a guard that our native people now have a peace pipe, and were even given permission to have native religious gatherings. All they need now is a medicine man, he said, and the nearest one is in New Mexico. Those were his exact words.

Then I was told I could not keep my hair in braids, because I might hide a knife in them. And I found out he was right about not having anyone to hold services. I was hurt.

Some of our medicine people run into transportation problems and cannot attend. With the support of the Lakota people, maybe the right people who are in the offices could help us. It would mean a lot to our Lakota people who are confined here.

Larry Lovell 18127
POBox 911
Sioux Falls, South Dakota 57101

Changing The System

NOTES: I'll be interested in the response of other readers to D.E. Blagg's letter (Early Summer issue) as I've been a retail dealer of native crafts and arts for over eight years. D.E. Blagg has no greater concern than I that the craftsman be fairly compensated for his skill and time. A great many retailers buy mainly from craftsmen and cooperatives, and while our prices necessarily reflect the cost of gathering pieces and presenting them to the consumer, they do not include the unnecessary cost of filling our stores with crafts purchased third and fourth hand.

It seems to me all too easy to point the finger of guilt at the middleman, at white greed. All of us are guilty and all of us are victims of the capitalistic system. I think it would be more fruitful to help bring about basic changes in a lop-sided unhealthy economic system.

Muriel Fine
Indian Country
3207 O St., NW
Washington, D.C. 20007

Gift of The Pipe

FRIENDS: I started thinking back over the years from when I first started my warm relations with you. Since then I have been drawn down many paths in search of identity. From the time I was instructed in the ways of my grandfather, the Creation Way, I had gone in different, at times adverse, directions than what is natural. My upbringing in New York City lured me many times away from my original purpose.

With the encouragement of my friends at NOTES and the awareness that a traditional struggle has been going on not only in this country but over the whole earth, I continued my journey back to the Creation Way.

Years ago, I made my first pipe. I present this pipe to AKWESASNE NOTES people on the 50th Issue. Onen.

Bob Little Tree Butler
Carmel, New York



Undying Strength & Knowledge

NOTES: I would just like to thank you all at NOTES for putting out such a beautiful paper, for through you I have come in contact with some really beautiful people who have aided and encouraged me on my path toward a more natural way of life.

Ever since I started reading NOTES, I have learned a tremendous amount of knowledge which has been very useful in bettering myself as a person and which has opened my mind to the natural world and the natural way of life. You have also opened my eyes to what is going on today between the Indian people and the Government of the U.S., and have helped me to understand why after 200 years these people are still fighting for the most precious things in their lives: their land and their way of life.

Through this paper comes a strength that will never die — not a physical strength, military strength, or a financial strength, but a spiritual strength that is there to help its people through their hard times.

May the Great Spirit be with you and continue giving you the strength to put out this paper.

Mike Fischetti
Bronx, New York

To Keep The Fire Going

NOTES: The next issue of AKWESASNE NOTES will be the 50th — I do believe one of the most successful eventualities ever to occur since contrasting society disturbed our own ways of communication. It involves lots of work, time and money to have this come about — it is some kind of togetherness behind this.

Dick Tenasco
Maniwaki Reserve
Quebec

Banned In Todd County

NOTES: I attended a Johnson-O'Malley meeting and one of the things discussed was AKWESASNE NOTES. The superintendent, Mr. Barnes, and some of the principals, Mr. Maxon and Mr. Bettelyoun, banned your paper from the Todd County School District. The Indian Studies Program has received your paper for a year and a half, and after Mr. Barnes reviewed the paper, he said it was a "racist magazine" and banned it.

One of our Lakota Studies teachers brought this problem to the people, and it was suggested a committee be formed to confront [these officials].

Todd County Schools have 80% Indian enrollment [but] the curriculum is swayed toward the non-Indian. AKWESASNE NOTES is needed in this school district to keep the Indian children informed about the truth of what is happening to our People.

I, as one Indian parent, think the NOTES is a great paper. It tells things like they are and I know that is what bothers people like our school administrators. If they want to do away with anything racist, they can start throwing out some of their history books.

If you have any ideas how to help this problem, I and other parties would greatly appreciate it.

Charlotte Sabers
POBox 646
Mission, South Dakota 57555

This Will Take Time

NOTES: Thank you for reminding us [in the article by Rarihokwats, Early Spring issue] that all of this will take time — and that we must work at ridding ourselves of contradictions. Some seem insoluble at this point, others seem like little things — good to throw them out.

I am sending names of friends who have a readiness to learn so that they may receive this issue.

Rema Loeb
New York

Focusing Our Energies

NOTES: You are valuable to me as news, as document, and as a way to help focus my energies, especially my mental energy and my energy for change. I think NOTES has also helped people feel less sore about their skin color without getting calloused about it. The paper is good for people!

Lilias Jones
Wilmette, Illinois

We'll Keep It Going

NOTES: I hope the AKWESASNE NOTES will never starve — I and other Indians will try to feed it enough without it going hungry. We eat to survive, so I know it takes funds to print and mail out. So keep up the good work.

L. McMillian
Topeka, Kansas

Echoes From The Throbbing Drum

BROTHERS&SISTERS: I wish to recognize and express thanks for the continuance of your paper. It seems to be a valuable window for the world-at-large to see into the Native American heart, and for that throbbing drum to also give back a reflection of us all with each true beat.

I only wonder that your efforts can sustain the spirit of truth. Perhaps in this world of lies and compromise. It seems too good to be true. Do not forget that among the whites are some who ache for the ways of your people to live on.

Bruce Mellberg
Eugene, Oregon

Clearing The Air

NOTES: I am writing in hopes you will help me clear myself in the local and national level by printing my letter as I know People of All Tribes read the NOTES.

My name is John J. Stewart, and I am a Sioux and I'm a real close relative of the Crow Dogs and I consider myself part and a member of the American Indian Movement.

Back in 1972, when AIM first came on the Pine Ridge Reservation in the Raymond Yellow Thunder case, I studied their motives and decided to join. I started to get active in all things, helping out in every way I can to the best interest of my people.

1975 was a sad year for me. Just a few days before the Sun Dance at Crow Dog's, my youngest brother, Andrew Paul Stewart was shot to death by goons. I want you all to try to understand before I put forth the real purpose of this letter.

I live in the northwestern part of the Pine Ridge Reservation in White Clay District, a little village of Oglala. Not very far from where I live is the burial place of our brother, Little Joe Stuntz.

Just recently, Ellen Moves Camp came back from the Northwest area and told me that I'm an Informer. At first, I was openly accused. But later on it was a different story.

I really want the People to know nationwide that I am not an informer. I repeat: I am not an informer. My feeling is badly hurt, so whoever in God's name started this rumor, prove this 100% right now. I stand ready to face anyone. I stand ready to lay my life down. I'm a father of six children — 4 girls and 2 boys. Also, I'm a grandfather. Whoever started the rumor had better look back on themselves before they accuse anyone of this type of thing.

If anyone has information about this, write to me right now so we can clear this up.

John J. Stewart
POBox 75
Oglala, South Dakota 57764

Help Harrington Luna

NOTES: The Brotherhood of American Indians on McNeil Island urges help to have Harrington J. Luna paroled from the federal prison here. The U.S. Board of Parole recently denied his parole application, though the federal prison officials had recommended his release.

Luna, who is past President and current chairman of the board of the Brotherhood here, has been confined in Federal Prison over 15 years. He was convicted on his plea of guilty when he was 17 years old for murder on an Indian Reservation. Although he and three other Indian boys committed the act, one of his companions was released after serving a few months, and the other two boys never were convicted or imprisoned.

Since his arrival at McNeil Island Penitentiary, Luna has maintained a clear-conduct record, has completed a three-year course in painting and decorating, and is President of the Prisoners' Assistance Program. If paroled, Luna would work in the Seattle Indian Alcoholism Program.

Although his people at the Gila River Indian Community in Arizona believe that Luna has been punished enough, and that he has been rehabilitated, and despite the recommendations for his release by prison officials who know him, the U.S. Board of Parole still refuses to parole him. They cite the seriousness of the original offense as their reason for keeping him in prison.

Letters on his behalf may be addressed to:
Chairman, U.S. Board of Parole
Department of Justice
Washington, D.C. 20525

Copies may be sent to
Harrison J. Luna 84236-132
POBox 1000,
Steilacoom, Washington 98388

Brotherhood of American Indians
U.S. Penitentiary
Steilacoom, Washington 98388

Turning Inside Out

NOTES: I am white, and the NOTES experience has turned me inside out. It has been the pain of growing, the love of people reaching out, the desire to change and the strength to try. I wish I could turn the whole country on to NOTES — change would come quickly. Too many of us stumble along making the same mistakes because we just don't know any better — there are more of us open to it than you would think.

I came to NOTES with the Noble Savage concept, so the first reaction was disappointment. Perhaps the best thing you've done for me is to show yourselves as real honest-to-God people, hurt and healing, angry & loving, looking for a good existence on an insane planet. Through your experiences, I'm starting to find my own road at long last. I hope that someday I'll be able to return what has been given.

Barbara Brown
Denver, Colorado



The Good Life

Howard Rock, editor of the Tundra Times was returned to native soil of Tikiqag in April in the midst of a cold spring snow. By his choice, he was buried beside his uncle, Chief Attungowruk, the most powerful leader and medicine man within the memory of his people. He arrived back home at the beginning of the whaling season. His words and thoughts are his memorial, his newspaper his legacy.

Wilbert Chicksi of Tuktoyaktuk, North West Territories, died of his own hand near midnight, March 30, in his cell in the Saskatchewan Penitentiary. . . Larry Black, Jr., a Cheyenne-Arapahoe, age 16, was found hanged in a police cell in Watonga, Oklahoma, by his own belt which had been taken from him upon his arrest. . . James Angus, age 30, died of hanging, by his own shirt in an RCMP cell in Loon Lake, Saskatchewan. . . There are others, almost every week, who die the same way. They too are our brothers, our sons, and we mourn them, remembering our obligations to others like them so they may live.

Nelson Small Legs, Jr., father of two daughters, shot himself in his home near Brocket, Alberta, proclaiming his death "a protest to the present conditions concerning the Indian People of southern Alberta." He was an active member of the American Indian Movement, whose last words read: "My suicide should open the eyes of non-Indians into how much we have suffered." His death should not be soon forgotten, for it speaks for action to we, the living. One death should speak loud enough to us.

With confidence that he had lived a good life, Chief Joseph Pierite of the Tunicas died March 16. Throughout his life, his struggle was for his people to continue their way of life in a society which said they did not exist. He never hesitated to tell people he was an Indian. He worked hard to help the other peoples of Louisiana maintain their self-esteem, and in the 1960s tried to organize these shattered nations into an active coalition. He was about eighty, but he never moved from the Tunica land and he never ceased to care for all the Old People who were buried there. He lived and died with the hope that the U.S. Government would recognize that his peoples have survived centuries of abuse and neglect.

Eddie DeLarm, an Arapahoe pilot who received his license from Orville Wright, passed on December 19. He was proud of his heritage, and was an avid supporter of AKWESASNE NOTES from his Tucson home, even after he lost his vision.

Niwateraa, known as John Tebo, former war chief of the Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne, passed peacefully into the spirit world in April. He had always been a strong defender of the rights of his people, and as he grew older, as an herbalist and spiritual advisor, he gave instructions in the natural ways to many young people. His nation mourns for their loss.

Quadzee, or Harry C. Sampson, left us after 86 years. A Paiute Numunatosegate, he founded a Nevada colony for native people without a reservation or land. This work, in 1917, branded him as a militant and troublemaker. His life incorporated many interests: professional musician, baseball player, a botanist — and a traditional man. As an old man, he believed in the American Indian Movement. He told his people, "Don't show off and buy the fanciest coffin and prettiest flowers — give your money for something that will help. Now he is gone at the time the grass is turning brown and the leaves float in the chilly air. His spirit remains to lead us.

Arthur Morgan, former president of Antioch College whose sweeping social visions valued small communities, great energy, unusual integrity and the belief in solving practical problems on a large scale, passed into the Spirit World at the age of 97 this winter. He was an especial friend of native peoples who were faced with loss of land by government dams, and strongly aided the Senecas in their opposition to Kinzua Dam. We have lost a friend, a grandfather.

Dr. Gertrude Hafner, who worked from her home in Austria for native peoples of the Americas, who demonstrated love especially for native people in prisons, and who researched into native influence in European thought, died this winter, leaving many saddened friends.

Frank Merrick, a guiding symbol of the native people of Manitoba for a half-century, passed on at the age of 96 March 11. He was born at the Sioux encampment south of Portage la Prairie in 1880; his parents had come from the Dakotas. He introduced small-scale farming to his reserve, and he worked almost single-handedly to keep his heritage alive. School children by the busloads visited his home to listen to his stories of the early days.

Grandma Beals, a life-long friend of native peoples, passed on after 96 good years. She had many friends among the Allegany Senecas, who honored her spirit and life.



Peyote
coming thru the earth.
Presented
to yaqui woman.
Thrown in my hands,
eaten ...
thrown back to the earth.
Soaring into mountains,
seeing how one is.

water
snow
earth
sky
trees
chipmunks
marmots
earth
earth
water
water
God &
universe.

God &
universe
— Orlando

Grey Sky
grey sky and wind
the winter doesn't want
to leave
yet the old leaf
is turned
by a slender shoot of green
— eva shelby

I am a deer
I run in the woods
I like to eat sweet green buds

I am the bear
Who likes to eat fish
When I walk I beat the drum of earth.
Running bear I am.
— Eureka Indian Pre-school children

you
mock me
try to walk
above
me
you don't know it
but you can't
my soul
reaches to the heavens
and is at peace with itself
— Jane H. Adams

DREAMERS' ROCK

It was a sacred place
Formed by titanic forces
Crest uplifted, upreaching
Toward the Path of Souls
And to the world's beyond
Oft enshrouded by mystic mists
Uprising from vaporous lake
Illuminated by sun and moon, or
Darkened by cosmic glooms, and
Incarnated by breaths of life
Changing, yet unchanged
Altering the moods of being
Imparting but not revealing
The mystery of becoming.

It was a hallowed place
Spirit pre-created, interred
Within the chasmic womb
Of its inmost substance
By preternatural law destined
To withhold from understanding
The mystery of the vital force of life; yet
By law outside the law ordained
To infuse and conjoin
With the heart and soul of men
To give increase to being
Lend purpose to existence
Bestowing the gift of living, but
Not disclosing the mystery of life.

To this vision crest
In cherished hope came youth
Themselves not fully formed, or
Heart and mind not
With the spirit of the world yet bound.
In vigil by solitary night
In fast from corporal want
They denied the worldly frame
To appease the inner hunger
And cleanse the heart and mind
To merit and gain the sacred dream
by which the way and mode of life
And destinies are marked
And new force to being brings.

It is now a public place
Open, in its solitude
To incurious and indifferent
And other passers-by
Who come their transient ways, and
As they pass through life
Seeing rather than seeking
Hearing but not listening
Touching to remain unmoved
And in mockery but not in honour
They inscribe their names
Upon the abiding rock
As if names have greater force
Than the mystery of being.

— Basil H. Johnston
1974

moon dance music
i will not
sleep
in the
pre-dawn
moon
as i lay
in the
tall cool
meadow
i
am watching
the moon
dance
to the
chanting
of the
frogs
& the
rhythm
of the
crickets
the earth
is cool
& the steam
rises yet
from my
naked form
in my mind
i dance
with
the moon
to
the chanting
& the rhythm
as
the moon
sprinkles
the silver
star rain
that tingles
my dancing
spirit
a whirlwind
rustles
along the path
where
the wolf spirit
walks
not far
from where
the rainbow
ribbons
billow
on the gnarled
gray staff
above
the whirlwind
a white owl
circles
& follows
the restless
wolfwind
together
they dance
to the chanting
& the rhythm
in the star-flung
rain
the swirling
wolfwind
tickles
the leaves
& makes them
chatter
a chuckle song
that makes me
want to laugh
& sing
with the
moon dance
singers
but
i will not
sing in the
pre-dawn
moon
i will listen
to the
laughter
& the song
the chanting
& the rhythm
& i will watch
the moon dance
& the billowing
of the rainbow
ribbons
until
the eastern
glow
brings
the rebirth
of my songs
that must
forever
become
moon dance
music
when
the morning
comes
— Rokwaho

EARTH
Down the coast south of here
Near the Ozette River
The raven breaks razor clams
Klock-shood oh, klock-shood ...
Past the giant red cedar
You will find the adz
Stuck in black rock
Guiding the trail of nettles
Spirit oh, spirit ...
Through the frog swamp
Listen for the blue jay
An omen of sight
Wait for the message
Week-seek guide me week-seek ...
It has come
A light defracted bubble
Tools of the shaman
Medicine food.
— Jim Tollerud

